DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 041 989 UD 010 487

AUTHOR	Block, Carl E.; And Others
TITLE	The Badge of Poverty: The St. Louis Report.
INSTITUTION	Missouri Univ., Columbia . Regional Rehabilitation Research Inst.
SPONS AGENCY	Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Mar 70
NOTE	84p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Regional Rehabilitation Research Inst., Missouri Univ., Columbia, Mo. 65201 ($1.50)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$4.30
DESCRIPTORS	Black Community, City Problems, *Economic Disadvantagement, *Economic Factors, Employment Opportunities, Ghettos, Government Role, Inner City, *Interviews, *Low Income, Mass Media, Mobility, Older Adults, Racial Discrimination, Urban Environment, Vocational Rehabilitation
IDENTIFIERS	Missouri, *St Louis

ABSTRACT

This booklet reports a study designed to probe into some of the important human dimensions that characterize poverty. The study was restricted to a specific low-income area in the heart of St. Louis, Mo. Personal household interviews were conducted, covering topics about problems and topics as seen by the respondents. Among the findings were that: (1) the majority of interviewees in the lowest income area (82 percent) were black and over a third were over 50 years of age; (2) ghetto residents are trapped, not mobile; (3) the "establishment" drew a large proportion of the blame for ghetto problems; (4) issues such as discrimination and police action were seldom mentioned; (5) radio and TV ownership was high--ghetto residents made considerable use of these media; (6) print media were used but less extensively than radio and TV; (7) the life-style of the poor is reflected in such things as shopping habits; and, (8) income was related to the respondent's attitudes. Tentative recommendations included the following: the need for increased job opportunities appears to have high priority; relocation and transportation may be of benefit only to a small number; government programs should utilize mass media fully; and, vocational rehabilitation services need to be vastly expanded, with numerous complementary and interlocking programs. (RJ)

ED041989

The Badge of Poverty

The St. Louis Report

Carl E. Block
Corrine S. Cope
Joseph T. Kunce
David Hartson

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

UD010487

Regional Rehabilitation Research Institute
University of Missouri-Columbia
Research Series No. 4
March, 1970

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY The Curators of the University of Missouri TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Acknowledgments

This publication was sponsored in part by Research Grant No. RD-2326-G from the Social and Rehabilitation Service, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., 20201. The opinions and conclusions reported herein, however, are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of SRS. Additional support was provided by the Research Center of Business and Public Administration, University of Missouri-Columbia.

The above mentioned grant from SRS made possible the establishment of a Regional Rehabilitation Research Institute at the University of Missouri-Columbia. The major function of this Institute is to carry out research on problems of counseling the disadvantaged. Other functions include consultation and participation with state rehabilitation agencies on research problems of mutual concern. Similar institutes with other core areas have been established in each of the HEW regions.

The authors wish to thank the following individuals for significant contributions to the study: Claude Monroe, Assistant Professor of Economics, Southern University, Baton Rouge; Randall Parker, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Texas-Austin; Jon Bibb, Instructor of Business Administration, Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg; Dorothy Rosen, Survey Field Supervisor of the Public Opinion Survey Unit, Business and Public Administration Research Center, St. Louis; and from the University of Missouri-Columbia: Floyd Harmston, Professor of Economics, Kenneth Benson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Wayne Anderson, Associate Professor of Psychology, and our secretary, Linda Robnett.

Welfare's O.K. if you
can't do no better.

Aaron Reid, Sr.
County Neighborhood Service
Center—Cordele, Georgia

Highlights

The badge of poverty is worn by millions of Americans. Such a sign obscures the complexities of problems that underlie the conditions and causes of contemporary American poverty. Many Americans fail to look beyond this label. The present study was designed to probe into some of the important human dimensions that lie behind this badge. A better understanding of the needs and concerns as expressed by the poor is crucial in the development of remedial strategies and programs.

Background and Design of the Study. From the premise that little is known about the needs and concerns of a representative *cross-section* of the poor, the following project was developed. It utilized a multidisciplinary approach with individuals participating from Psychology, Sociology, Education, and Business and Public Administration.

1. The study was restricted to a specified geographic, low-income area in the heart of St. Louis. A total of 55 city blocks was selected at random for personal household interviews. In addition, several street corners where people tended to congregate were selected as a second source for interviews.

2. An interview schedule was developed consisting of 49 major items which covered topics about problems and concerns as seen by the respondents as well as sources of income and sources of information. The schedule was administered by black interviewers to blacks and by white interviewers to whites.

3. A total of 349 usable interview schedules was completed during August of 1968. Very few interviewees' households were screened out of the study for having annual incomes greater than $4,000.

Characteristics of the Urban Poor. The following findings provide an illuminating picture of a broad section of low-income people:

1. Within the lowest income area of St. Louis, the majority of interviewees (82%) were black.

2. Age distributions were different from those of the general population. Over a third of the respondents were over 50 years of age. Young male blacks were particularly absent.

3. Family structure was fragmented. Half of the interviewees were separated, divorced, or widowed.

4. Ghetto residents are trapped, not mobile. A total of 83% had lived in the St. Louis area over 10 years.

5. Education alone is not a panacea. The blacks had higher levels of education than whites, yet their rate of employment and levels of income were no different from those of the whites.

6. Educational attainment was limited. However, the percentage of younger interviewees who were high school graduates was almost seven times that of persons over 50.

7. The economic picture of this group was extremely bleak. Only one household out of two reported an employed member. Per capita income for members of households averaged $50 per month. Expenditures for food averaged less than 70c per person per day.

8. Of the total income received by the respondents during the month of July 1968, the largest percentage (53%) was derived from wages and salaries. The amounts from ADC and general welfare equaled only 18% of the total household income, or $9.41 per month per household member represented in the survey.

Concerns of the Urban Poor. What does the ghetto resident himself see as major problems? What are his concerns? What does he see as solutions to ghetto problems?

1. The "establishment" drew a substantial proportion of the blame for ghetto problems, although ghetto residents blamed themselves for half of the problems they mentioned.

2. Issues such as discrimination and police brutality were seldom mentioned. Of more concern were the issues of jobs, landlords, delinquency, and even garbage.

3. Personal motivation was perceived as a major solution for "others" in solving problems. However, it was not seen by the respondents as being applicable to their own immediate situations. More

money was frequently cited as the most logical solution to their own difficulties.

4. Remedial education may be necessary for long-range improvement of the disadvantaged; however, it was not seen as a critical factor by respondents themselves. Less than 5% indicated that education would personally help their situation.

5. Almost all of the respondents had previous work experience, although only 15% were currently employed. A majority indicated satisfaction with current or previous employment. Among those indicating a desire to change jobs, a distinct shift in their choices from service-related occupations was found.

6. About half of those not working indicated that they were looking for employment. Employment agencies were perceived as more helpful in providing job training and schooling than in locating jobs.

7. The low-income people indicated the necessity of increased job opportunities not only for themselves but also for others. Many of them stated that they knew numerous friends in need of job assistance. Almost all interviewees indicated that the government should take a more active role in solving employment problems.

8. The personal characteristics of the respondents influenced their perceptions of problems and of solutions. The young black male was most concerned about job opportunities. Older and less educated interviewees were more constrained in their attitudes and placed blame for problems on the ghetto residents themselves rather than on the "establishment."

9. Individuals living in the households with the most income and having higher levels of educational attainment appeared to be more openly frustrated by ghetto living than others.

Informational Resources: Utilization and Effectiveness. Critical issues such as employment, malnutrition, crime, inadequate housing, and the like have received considerable general publicity. Little attention has been given to communication, which is also a fundamental issue. In this study, contact with the mass media and other channels of communication generally available were investigated with respect to their influence on the behavior of the urban poor.

1. Radio and television ownership was high. Ghetto residents made considerable use of these media.

2. Print media such as newspapers and magazines were used although not as extensively as radio and television. Nearly 40% did not read at all or read less than one hour per week.

3. Newspapers and television were generally seen as the most useful sources in obtaining product-related information; however, with respect to a specific product category (e.g., groceries or appliances), more personalized approaches such as store circulars were seen as the most useful. Blacks more than whites tended to favor more "personal" sources of information.

4. Knowledge about specific projects designed for the poor, such as the food stamp program, was limited and points to serious communication failures. The need for developing creative ways of reaching the poor, plus increased use of available communication channels by the "establishment," is indicated.

5. A person's previous education affected his media experiences. Those better educated spent more time both in reading and in television viewing.

Other Important Findings.

1. The poor have been said to have a "yes-saying" response bias in answering questions. This was not indicated in this study, as respondents were not hesitant to say "no" to many questions.

2. The 'life-style" of the poor is reflected in such things as their shopping habits. The fact that only 23% of the households had automobiles and 42% stated they were limited to shopping within walking distance underscores the futility of their planning ahead or saving for sales. Such realities and concomitant attitudes are likely to sabotage their participation in programs calling for the development of long-term employment objectives through training.

3. Certain racial differences were noted. Underlying hostilities became apparent upon examination of second and third responses of the blacks concerning problems in the ghetto. The blacks were much more likely to blame the establishment for additional problems.

4. With regard to employment status, three subgroups could be formed—1) those employed, 2) those unemployed, looking-for-work, and 3) those not employed and not looking-for-work. The first two groups were comparable with respect to age and education. The third group was older and had less education. The unemployed looking-for-work group expressed a marked concern

about the unavailability of jobs. They did not see schooling and motivation as critical factors. These individuals saw newer agencies, such as those sponsored by OEO, and private agencies as being of more help in meeting their employment needs than established governmental programs.

5. The proportion of people out of work looking-for-jobs was much greater in the street sample than in the household sample. Such a finding suggests that unemployment and substandard employment rates may be vastly higher than generally available figures would indicate.

6. Income was related to respondents' attitudes. Those with the most income were more likely to voice attitudes and concerns similar to middle-class Americans.

Implications for Rehabilitation and Other Programs. On the basis of the foregoing results, the following tentative recommendations and conclusions were made:

1. Public and other traditional agencies or organizations do not reach the bulk of the inner-city poor.

2. The poor appear to be responsive to increased efforts and a more aggressive stance by governmental agencies to reach them.

3. Unemployment rates can be only inferred from the data. The fact that only one household out of two reported an individual employed is indicative of a very severe problem. The need for increased job opportunities appears to have high priority.

4. Income supplements or maintenance programs that might be developed for the total inner-city poor could be extremely expensive. Less than half the total income reported came from governmental sources, and a small proportion came from money identified as welfare support.

5. If maintenance programs are to be fully implemented, one can speculate about the general inflationary spiral that might be set off and the real possibility that low-income groups would still remain at a severe disadvantage.

6. Census reliability is a real problem because younger male disadvantaged individuals are likely to be undercounted.

7. The public media may overemphasize riots, discrimination, and police brutality in ghetto areas. Although one cannot ignore the

critical implications of such realities, the majority of the hard-core poor are more concerned with problems related to housing, jobs, and day-to-day existence.

8. Increased inner-city strife can be expected with increased educational attainment and income supplements if parallel increases in other economic and social opportunities do not occur.

9. Relocation and transportation may be of benefit only to a small number.

10. Mass media such as television, newspapers, and radio can and do reach the poor. However, many governmental programs do not fully utilize these media to "sell" special projects to the disadvantaged.

11. Traditional counseling approaches have made little impact on inner-city poor. Counselors need to become more aware of various facets of poverty including attitudes and the tangible necessities that are required to start a client in a socially upward direction.

12. Vocational rehabilitation services may need to be vastly expanded for this clientele. Many of the unemployed gave medical reasons as a primary cause for their status. However, no single approach can solve the complex problems of inner-city poor. Numerous complementary and interlocking programs are needed. Currently many programs appear to be geared more to the needs of inner-city unemployed females than males.

Conclusion. It has been said that it is difficult for middle-class individuals who themselves have seldom been poor to adequately understand and meet the needs of the poor. This study has sought to increase the understanding of counselors, social workers, and other professionals of the complex problems of poverty. The badge of poverty has a unique meaning for each poor person and should not signify social dependency. The findings, interpretations, conclusions, and implications offered here are limited because of the nature of the survey itself. However, they should both challenge and substantiate certain presently held concepts concerning the disadvantaged and encourage improvement of strategies for helping this population.

Contents

Acknowledgments iii
Highlights v
List of Tables and Figures xiii

Unit I : Background and Design of the Study 1
1. Planning the Study 3
2. Research Design and Procedures 5

Unit II : Characteristics of the Urban Poor 13
3. Personal, Economic, and Social Aspects 15
4. Sources of Household Income 25

Unit III: Concerns of the Urban Poor 29
5. Major Problems and Solutions 31
6. Employment Concerns 37
7. Personal Characteristics and Concerns 43

Unit IV: Informational Resources: Utilizations and Implications 49
8. An Appraisal of the Flow of Product Information 51
9. Media Experiences and Personal Characteristics 59

Unit V : Other Findings 65
10. Additional Significant Observations 67
11. Implications for Rehabilitation and other Programs 73

References 79

List of Tables and Figures

Metropolitan St. Louis and Target Area 6
Close-up of Target Area 7
Sex, Race, and Age 15
Education, Employment, and Income 16
Marital Status, Family Position, and Housing 18
Age Distribution and Sex 19
Age Distribution and Race 20
Sex Distribution of Household Subsample according to Race 20
Educational Distribution and Race 21
Educational Distribution and Sex 21
Educational Distribution by Age Subgroups 22
Distribution of Income according to Source and Contributor 28
Major Ghetto Problems and Their Perceived Source 32
Solutions Offered for Peers and for Oneself 33
Work Experience and Employment Status 38
Distribution of Variables Seen as Problems and Seen as Solutions for Acquaintances 39
Employment Assistance Received by Acquaintances Obtaining Help and Not Obtaining Help 41
Specific Characteristics Associated with Personal Variables according to Perceived Sources of Ghetto Problems 45
Specific Characteristics Associated with Personal Variables according to Perceived Solutions for Peers 46
Solutions Proposed for Self, Peers, and Others according to Respondent's Sex 47
Hours of Television Viewing Each Day 53
Time Periods of Television Viewing 53
Time Periods of Radio Listening 53
General Reading Habits 54
Types of Newspapers Read 55
Expressed Newspaper Preference 55

Magazines Read Regularly **55**
Reasons for Choosing a Food Store according to Reading Habits **60**
Household Income according to Employment Status **70**
Educational Distribution according to Employment Status **70**
Age Distribution and Employment Status **71**
Distribution of Interview Location and Employment Status **72**

UNIT I

Background and Design of the Study

The goal of this study was to develop a better understanding of the meaning of poverty. Not all of the unemployed or underemployed seek the services of welfare, counseling, or employment service agencies. Therefore, our perceptions of the poor often are restricted and shaped by our interaction with a limited proportion of people living in poverty. Information obtained about their attitudes, their concerns, and their behavior should assist in the development of more meaningful programs for the disadvantaged.

This study utilized a multidisciplinary approach involving participants from education, counseling, psychology, sociology, economics, and marketing. An interview schedule was developed to tap two major areas of interest. One part of the schedule was designed to appraise the personal attitudes of the urban disadvantaged toward their social and vocational environment and included questions to determine what problems in their environment were of most importance to them and how they would propose to solve them. The second part focused on several topics relating to the economic well-being of these people. Questions in this latter phase explored their exposure to and use of communication media and how such information influenced them. Besides these two general areas of interest, data were collected on descriptive variables, personal characteristics, and sources of income.

CHAPTER 1

Planning the Study

The plight of millions of Americans trapped in inner-cities of the larger metropolitan areas has assumed tragic proportions. The magnitude of assorted problems related to employment, housing, transportation, health, crime, discrimination, and so on are considered by many to pose a major threat to contemporary American society. Remedial strategies are subverted by diverse social, economic, and political barriers as well as by psychological and attitudinal factors. Apathy, ignorance, prejudices, and resistance exist among *both* the disadvantaged and their would-be benefactors. Local, state, and federal efforts have often lacked muscle in terms of commitment, sustained financial resources, forebearance, endurance, and knowhow. Furthermore, social and political agencies are inevitably frustrated by their failure to muster and sustain multifaceted, cooperative programs.

According to the U. S. Department of Commerce (1969), there were about 10.8 million poor households in the United States in 1968 (i.e., households with annual incomes under $3,000). This represents 17.4% of the 61.8 million U. S. households. In the same year an additional 4.2 million households were nearly poor. This means that in 1968, 24% of all U. S. households were economically deprived; and there is evidence to indicate that even though favorable changes may have taken place the last few years, the net results have been moderate in alleviating this grievous situation (Moynihan, 1968).

Several members of the University of Missouri-Columbia faculty who were concerned about the ineffectiveness of many programs aimed at alleviating or eliminating problems of poverty met together in the spring of 1968 to discuss what they might do to help remedy such a situation. From these discussions a consensus emerged that there was insufficient knowledge about behaviors and concerns from the viewpoints of the poor themselves. It became apparent that many conflicting ideas of how to

serve the poor arose from perceptions developed through limited contacts and interactions with certain divergent subgroups such as mothers on welfare, old age assistance recipients, public offenders, militants, and unemployed job applicants (e.g., McMillan, 1967; Strasel & Larkin, 1968). None of the above subgroups can really be considered representative of the larger proportions of the unemployed, the "underemployed," and other poor people who do not seek the services of welfare, employment, or other governmental or private agencies. Other studies of the disadvantaged (e.g., Baratz & Grigsby, 1968; Irelan, 1968) are often of a general, observational nature and fail to reflect the issues from the point of view of the poor.

From the observation that little is known about the needs and concerns of a broad *cross-section* of the poor, the following project was developed. Because poverty poses particularly difficult and unique problems in urban areas, we decided to restrict the study to urban poor. Furthermore, poverty in the United States is increasingly becoming an urban phenomenon, in contrast to the recent past when the greatest proportion of poverty would invariably have been found in the rural countryside (Moynihan, 1968). As the study evolved, it was limited to a survey aimed at a special geographically delineated group of inner-city poor in a large metropolitan area.

The decision to restrict the study to a cross-section of urban poor allowed us to investigate problems to a greater depth than if we had attempted to study the poor-in-general. Knowledge gleaned from the findings should be of interest and relevance to individuals interested in improving the effectiveness of their programs serving the disadvantaged. The following chapters describe the procedures used, results obtained, and implications of the findings.

CHAPTER 2

Research Design and Procedures

In developing a feasible research design we were concerned with 1) identification of a relevant population to study, 2) kinds of information to be collected, 3) methods for obtaining that information, and 4) procedures for analyzing the data. The ensuing paragraphs describe each of these facets.

Target Population. In addition to the original decision to limit the study to the urban poor, a number of factors entered into the ultimate selection of a target sample. Limitations were imposed by the financial resources available for the study as well as by the actual mechanics involved in collecting and analyzing the data. The issue was decided after a discussion with staff members of the St. Louis Planning Commission early in 1968. At that time the Commission had just completed a city-wide study of property values as part of the St. Louis Community Renewal Program. Their study included the collection of income data from a large sample of St. Louis residents. Using the Commission's knowledge of the current distribution of household income on a geographical basis, a set of boundaries was drawn up which in their judgment and ours represented an area that included the majority of the low-income persons living in the city of St. Louis. These boundaries are shown on the accompanying maps (Figures 1 and 2). Once the primary survey area was defined in this manner, all of the habitable city blocks within these boundaries were assigned a different number. A table of random numbers was then used as a basis for selecting 55 city blocks within this area where the interviewing was to be conducted.

Within this target area certain guidelines were set for selecting subjects. First, it appeared important to include both persons living in established residences in this ghetto area and those who might not have any reasonably permanent home. Therefore, as a means of incorporating representatives from both of these populations, it was decided to select individuals for interviews from

street corners as well as from households in the randomly assigned blocks. A total of 350 interviews were planned with 75 from street corners and 275 from households.

Age was another important factor in selecting subjects. It was desirable to obtain a reasonably balanced sample of younger and older individuals in order that the relationships of educational attainment, employment, attitudes, and other variables to age could be adequately investigated. Such information might explain some of the life styles of the urban poor at various ages in the family life cycle. A quota was established whereby half of the interviewees were to be under 35 years of age to insure that this desired balance would be obtained.

It was evident, on the basis of current census data, that large percentages of the disadvantaged living in the low-income areas of St. Louis were black. A quota system similar to that used for age could have been established to insure a predetermined racial mix in the sample. However, it was anticipated that the random selection of habitable city blocks would provide sufficient numbers of both blacks and whites to investigate the relationship of race to other variables. As it turned out, approximately 17% of the interviewees were white and 83% were nonwhite.

In order to limit the study to the *poor*, it was necessary to decide on an appropriate income criterion for sample selection. Two factors were paramount. First, it was important to establish an income-screening criterion that would parallel the perceptions of poverty generally used. Secondly, it was necessary that this procedure be economical to administer in the field. The procedure had to be applied quickly and concisely by trained interviewers so that it would not discourage potential interviewees from participating in the study. Each of these requirements was satisfied reasonably well by establishing a maximum annual household income level of $4,000. That is, a screening question was used at the start of the interview to determine if the total household income for the previous year exceeded that limit. In retrospect, the vast majority of the respondents interviewed were members of households that had considerably lower incomes.

The Interview Schedule. A number of questions formulated from psychological, sociological, economic, and counseling per-

spectives were transformed into an interview schedule which was then field-tested in St. Louis in July, 1968. The pretest results not only identified necessary revisions of questions (such as phraseology and sequence) but also provided insight into the problems associated with relating personally to the poor. This experience became a basis for modifying the interview schedule, planning interview training, and making estimates for interviewing time and associated costs. The final schedule consisted of 49 major items and took approximately 40 minutes to administer.

One large group of questions dealt with viewpoints held by inner-city residents concerning their neighborhood problems and their own solutions to them. Another set focused on sources of income, employment status, and job assistance needed by the interviewee and by his acquaintances. A third group of questions dealt with communication and use of typical public media such as radio, newspapers, and television and how these affected the use of income (e.g., knowledge of food stamps or availability of sales). Other questions were developed to tap various aspects of their life styles and concerns (e.g., "Should women on welfare work?"; "Do people in your neighborhood plan ahead or take things as they come along?").

Personal characteristics such as race, age, education, marital status, and sex were also included. This information was useful not only for descriptive purposes but also for investigating differences among subgroups of individuals categorized according to specified personal characteristics as old-young, black-white, etc.

Methods for Carrying Out the Study. Information gleaned from the field testing of the interview schedule provided a basis for establishing the amount of field interviewing to be undertaken within project budget restrictions. It was on this basis that 350 interviews were planned. Financial support was received from both the Regional Rehabilitation Research Institute and from the Research Center of the School of Business and Public Administration at the University of Missouri-Columbia (UMC).

All field testing and subsequent interviewing were done by the Public Opinion Survey Unit of the UMC School of Business and Public Administration. The Unit has a permanent staff of

professionals whose responsibility it is to conduct survey work on a continuous basis. Their experience was essential in making the study possible. Interviewers were trained specifically for the project. Black interviewers were used to interview blacks and white interviewers, whites. The ages of the interviewers ranged from 19 to 48 years, and their educational attainment ranged from 11 to 16 years of schooling. All were selected because of their unique ability to do this kind of work rather than because of educational attainment or previous employment histories.

Interviewees from households were selected, as mentioned previously, from city blocks that had been assigned at random in a specified inner-city area. However, it was not possible to provide strict sampling procedures for the "drifters" (i.e., street corner interviewees). Within the target area six different spots were identified as being locations where people congregated on the street. Selected interviewers were specifically trained and instructed to go into these areas at various times on several different days of the week and to interview a prescribed number of people. Most of the interviewing was done by a young, attractive black woman and all of her interviews were with men. Although there was some apprehension about the safety of this interviewer as well as the others, no problems were encountered. All interviewing was done during August of 1968.

Statistical Procedures. Almost all questions on the survey were open-ended. For most questions, however, the interviewer had specific categories that he could check according to the interviewee's responses. On certain selected questions the interviewer was required to write down answers verbatim. These responses were later analyzed and categorized according to their content. All responses were eventually coded and placed on IBM cards to facilitate the analysis. One questionnaire was not usable leaving a total of 349. Not all responses were codable or appropriate for a given analysis, thus the number of responses analyzed did not always equal 349.

In order to simplify the subsequent presentation of the data, the detailed aspects of data analyses and explicit hypotheses development are not provided. In general, where tests of significance were involved, data were either categorized on the basis of

specific response categories or collapsed into larger categories to provide sufficient frequencies per cell for valid statistical analysis to be undertaken. Throughout our discussion the term "significant difference" is used only when Chi square has an alpha value less than or equal to the .05 level of significance.

UNIT II

Characteristics of the Urban Poor

The following two chapters provide a description of selected personal characteristics of the subjects interviewed. Within the limitations of the research design, it is believed that the data obtained provide a representative picture of low-income inhabitants of the specified inner-city area. These data, drawn from a particular geographic area, are likely to differ from data dealing with populations drawn from specific sources such as from welfare or employment services. The findings clearly illustrate the magnitude of the problems and the plight of the poor in the inner-city.

CHAPTER 3

Personal, Economic, and Social Aspects

Descriptive data concerning personal attributes of the interviewees and the interrelationships of these attributes provide a framework in which to view their basic problems and concerns as they perceive them. In the following discussion the characteristics of the population studied are divided into *personal, economic,* and *social* for ease of presentation and analysis. A few characteristics of our sample reflect some procedures of the research design discussed in detail in the previous chapter, e.g., none of the interviewees had over $4,000 reported as income as this was the cut-off point for acceptance into the study.

Personal Characteristics. Personal characteristics discussed here are sex, age, and race. Table 3A summarizes the frequency and percentages of these variables. Two-thirds of the subjects interviewed were female, and the proportion of females in the household subsample alone was still higher. This finding points

TABLE 3A

Sex, Race, and Age

(n=349)

Variable	Subgroup	Frequency	Percent of total sample
Sex	Male	121	35
	Female	228	65
Race	White	59	17
	Black	286	82
	Other	4	1
Age	Over 50	113	32
	40-49	46	13
	30-39	107	31
	20-29	78	23
	Under 20	5	1

directly to possible biases introduced into surveys that are based solely on household samples taken during the daytime when female members of the family are more likely to be at home. The street sample was exclusively male and, as originally stated, was included to provide viewpoints from a different cross-section of the inner-city population.

A large majority of those sampled (82%) were black. These findings are consistent with expectations for this particular ghetto area of St. Louis but higher than that (68%) reported for six other large cities (U. S. Department of Labor, 1969). It had also been anticipated that a large proportion of interviewees would be in the older age group. Even though a quota system was used to insure tapping both over-35 and under-35 age groups, a distortion still occurred. From Table 3A it can be noted that a third of the total sample were above 50 years of age.

Economic Characteristics. The economic variables considered in this study were educational attainment, employment, and income (Table 3B). The educational attainment of this group was quite limited. Approximately one-fourth of the interviewees had only an elementary school education; another one-fourth had 7 or 8 years of schooling; another one-fourth had some high school; and less than a fourth had graduated from high school. The current emphasis on having a high school diploma points to the educational deficit of ghetto residents.

TABLE 3B

Education, Employment, and Income

(n=349)

Variable	Subgroup	Frequency	Percent of total sample
Educational level	12 & higher	71	21
	9-11	104	30
	7-8	90	25
	0-6	84	24
Employment	Employed	54	15
	Unemployed	295	85
Total monthly household income*	$300 and higher	75	22
	$200-299	98	29
	$100-199	103	30
	$ 0-99	68	19

*Not ascertained for 5 subjects

A disquieting finding of this study was that 85%, or 295 of the 349 interviewed, were not employed. This, of course, cannot be construed as the "rate of unemployment" in this area. For example, among the households interviewed, 47% reported that there were working members in the household. Nonetheless, these are stark figures and clearly point to the magnitude of employment problems in the inner-city low-income areas.

Looking at the findings another way, 15% were employed, 25% were unemployed but looking for work, and 60% were unemployed and were not looking for work. The reasons given for not looking for work were varied, with the majority of reasons falling in a health-related category (e.g., medical problems, pregnancy, retired). Even so, one-fourth of the unemployed not-looking-for-work subgroup simply stated that they felt inadequate, had been laid off, or that there was not much hope.

A significant difference was observed between the household and street corner subsamples on employment status. Within the household group, most of the interviewees were either employed (20%) or not employed and *not* looking for work (63%). In the street sample, these percentages were 7% and 43% respectively. In other words, the percentage of unemployed individuals *who were looking* for work was 50% for the street sample in contrast to 17% for the household group. Another way of looking at these data is that from the household sample a total of 98 individuals could have been considered in the "employment market," but only 54 of the 98 were actually working. In the street sample 43 interviewees were in the "employment market" but only 5 of the 43 were employed.

As one reviews these figures it is apparent that the incidence of unemployment in this group is extremely high. Furthermore, the results on the household income of the interviewees give indication of the marked poverty level in the inner-city. Household earnings based on all sources of income from working members of the family, welfare, and other sources averaged less than $200 per month. Since income is a very critical factor with this population, other aspects of the economic characteristics of the urban poor will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Social Characteristics. Included in this section are data concerning marital status, family position of the interviewee (head

of household, spouse, or other), and factors related to housing (see Table 3C). Available data indicate that a large proportion of families were not intact. A total of 44% of the respondents were either separated ,divorced, or widowed; 17% were single; and 39% married. Census data indicate that on a nationwide basis these percentages are approximately 11%, 22%, and 67%, respectively. The size of the households is suggested from the following data. Fifty-two percent of the interviewees reported having children still living with them at home. A total of 20% of the group had one or two children, 14% had three or four, 9% had five or six, and 9% had seven or more children.

TABLE 3C

Marital Status, Family Position, and Housing

(n=349)

Variable	Subgroup	Frequency	Percent of total sample
Marital status	Single	59	17
	Married	136	39
	Other	154	44
Family position	Head	221	63
	Spouse	93	27
	Other	35	10
Housing	Multiple	210	60
	Single	95	27
	Other	44	13

Considering the total size of the households, one-fourth of the sample were living alone; one-fifth lived with one other person; and over half with three or more. It is of significance to note that 15% of the individuals interviewed were living in households of six or more individuals. The number of members per household averaged 3.86. With respect to household responsibilities, nearly two-thirds of the interviewees stated that they were heads of the household and most of the remaining (27%) reported they were the spouse.

As may be expected in a disadvantaged area, the majority of these persons lived in multiple dwelling units. In fact, it was somewhat surprising that 27% reported occupying single dwelling units. The size of the families with respect to the size of dwelling units points to problems of overcrowding. The number of rooms

in their dwelling units averaged 3.9 which amounts to one room per individual. In fact, 38% of the respondents indicated that they needed more rooms than they currently had. Among those needing more space, half stated they needed at least two more rooms. Further cramping is indicated by the fact that half of the interviewees indicated there was insufficient clothes closets and storage space.

Contrary to popular beliefs, ghetto residents are not primarily recent migrants. The mobility data on this sample, as well as from many studies of inner-city areas, show the limited geographical mobility of the poor. In this sample, only 14% reported being in the neighborhood less than one year and 55% indicated they had lived in the present neighborhood over five years. Even more striking is the time spent in the greater St. Louis area. A total of 84% reported being in this area for over ten years. Fewer than 2% had lived in the area less than one year.

Interrelationships of Characteristics. Some of the interrelationships of aforementioned variables have already been given, e.g., differences in employment status between the street corner and the household subsamples. Knowledge of such interactions provides a fuller understanding of this population. Therefore, the following section examines the interrelationships among other selected basic characteristics. For example, are there differences in educational attainment of interviewees categorized by age, sex, or race? Does the employment picture vary according to these three variables?

It was found that the age distribution of males was significantly different from that of females (Table 3D). Relatively fewer males

TABLE 3D

Age Distribution and Sex

(n=349)

Age level	Males (n=121)	Females (n=228)
Over 50	37%	30%
40-49	16%	11%
30-39	31%	31%
Under 30	16%	28%
Total	100%	100%

than females were in the under-30 age bracket and slightly more males were in the above-50 age bracket. This finding is consistent with problems in enumeration experienced in the 1960 census when a number of males, particularly blacks, were simply not counted (Campbell, Kaplan, & Mahoney, 1969). Problems of hostility towards the "establishment," barriers imposed by welfare regulations, and free-floating home status have been offered as explanations for this phenomenon.

The data on the distribution of ages by race are also of considerable interest and are presented in Table 3E. It can be recalled from the research design that the selection of interviewees was stratified to insure that approximately 50% were less than 35 years of age. It can be seen that among the inner-city disadvantaged white, the majority of subjects were either older or younger. Within the black subgroup, an uneven distribution of ages can be noticed. These data (fewer *young* blacks) and the previously mentioned finding of fewer young males (see Table 3D) together suggest that fewer young male blacks are likely to be contacted in a survey such as this as well as in census taking.

TABLE 3E

Age Distribution and Race

(n=345)

Age level	Blacks (n=286)	Whites (n=59)
Over 50	30%	44%
40-49	15%	7%
30-39	33%	17%
Under 30	22%	32%
Total	100%	100%

TABLE 3F

Sex Distribution of Household Subsample According to Race

(n=270)

Sex	Blacks (n=211)	Whites (n=59)
Male	17%	14%
Female	83%	86%
Total	100%	100%

In looking at the distribution of sex according to the two races, it was noted that in the household subsample the proportions were nearly identical, i.e., 83% black females and 86% white females (see Table 3F). The street sample was 100% males.

The distributions of subjects according to educational attainment and the variables of race, sex, and age are presented in Tables 3G, 3H, and 3J. The finding with respect to race and education of this inner-city ghetto population is of particular interest. It can be seen that the blacks were significantly better educated than the whites. This finding is important and suggests that further education alone may be insufficient for reducing unemployment among the black disadvantaged. Such interpretation is substantiated by the findings that the proportion of interviewees employed was essentially the same for blacks and whites (17% and 14% respectively, of the total sample) and the level of household income was the same. Further support can be found from a state-wide survey in Missouri by the Public Opinion

TABLE 3G

Educational Distribution and Race

(n=345)

Educational level	Blacks (n=286)	Whites (n=59)
12 & higher	22%	12%
9-11	31%	25%
7-8	24%	37%
0-6	23%	25%
Total	100%	100%

TABLE 3H

Educational Distribution and Sex

(n=349)

Educational level	Males (n=121)	Females (n=228)
12 & higher	22%	20%
9-11	27%	31%
7-8	20%	29%
0-6	31%	20%
Total	100%	100%

Survey Unit which showed that blacks with the same education as whites earned less money and had less prestigious jobs (University of Missouri-Columbia, 1969b).

TABLE 3J

Educational Distribution by Age Subgroups
(n=348)

Educational level	Age subgroups			
	Under 30 (n=83)	30-39 (n=90)	40-49 (n=104)	Over 50 (n=71)
12 & higher	33%	26%	22%	4%
9-10	41%	40%	28%	13%
7-8	22%	20%	30%	33%
0-6	4%	14%	20%	50%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

With respect to education and sex, a larger proportion of the males had marginal education (0-6 years) than did the females (see Table 3H). There were even greater differences with respect to educational attainment and age. These are summarized in Table 3J. This table clearly illustrates the trend towards more education over the past few decades. For example, the percentage of individuals having a high school education for each of the four age groups (29 or younger, 30-39, 40-49, and over 50) were respectively 33%, 26%, 22%, and 4%. The percents for sixth grade education or less were respectively 4%, 14%, 20%, and 50%.

Conclusions. Taking into account the research methodologies and the inherent limitations of sample-surveys the following conclusions appear warranted:

1. The economic picture of this group is extremely bleak. Only one out of seven interviewed was employed. Per capita income for members of households represented by interviewees was approximately $50 per month.

2. Family structure is fragmented. Half of the interviewees were separated, divorced, or widowed. Housing is crowded with an average of one person per room. Four out of five lived in multiple housing units.

3. Ghetto residents are trapped, not mobile! A total of 83% had lived in the St. Louis area over ten years.

4. Education alone is not a panacea. The blacks had higher levels of education than whites, yet the majority of inhabitants in this low-income area were black (83%). The proportion of high school graduates among younger interviewees was almost seven times higher than for those over 50.

CHAPTER 4

Sources of Household Income

In the previous chapter it was stated that the approximate income per capita for household members represented in this survey was approximately $50 per month. In this chapter more specific information will be given about the sources of household income for this inner-city ghetto area. The ensuing findings bring into clearer focus the lack of economic resources available to such a population. The analysis is based upon financial data as reported for the month of July, 1968. Sources of income are examined from three different perspectives. First, total monthly income is given. This is followed by an analysis of household income by sources (e.g., salary and welfare). Finally, income is analyzed with respect to the contributions of the various household members.

Total Monthly Household Income. The average total monthly income for households represented by 344 of the respondents in this survey was $198.49 (the median income was $199.00). These figures are equivalent to an annual household income of $2,381.88 (or about $600 annually per household member since there were approximately four persons per household). These data are remarkably similar to the annual median income of poor families with four persons (i.e., two adults and two children)which was reported as $2,307 in 1966 (U. S. Department of Labor, 1968). Current definitions of poverty have a higher ceiling. For example, the poverty income standard used by the Social Security Administration takes into account household size, composition, and place of residence. The income threshold currently used classifies as poor those nonfarm households whose total money income is less that $1,748 for the single individual, $2,262 for a couple, and $3,553 for a household of four (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1969).

Thus these inner-city interviewees had household incomes about $1,200 below current poverty level definitions. The eco-

nomic deprivation of these individuals is further illustrated by their expenditures for food. According to our findings, these St. Louis households spent an average of $19.11 each week for food including the use of food stamps at their face value. *This is equivalent to $4.93 per person each week or $.70 per day!* This amount is substantially less than the weekly average of $8.79 per person in all U. S. households. Furthermore, it falls far short of the $7.00 per person average spent nationally by those with incomes under $3,000, according to a study recently published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture (1969). In spite of the meager amount expended for food by these St. Louis residents, it amounted to 42% of the average reported total household income. This is substantially more than a third of total income, a level that is usually considered to be the maximum that should be spent for food (Livingston, 1967). But how could they spend less?

Sources of Income. As a prelude to examining the distribution of income of these households, it is important to review and elaborate on some information concerning employment given in Chapter 3. It was noted there that 15% of the interviewees were currently employed. However, in response to the question of whether the head-of-the-household was employed, 42% of the subjects stated yes. When asked if any member of the household was working (i.e., respondent himself, head of household, or other family members), 47% so reported. In other words, half of the households had no person employed during the month of July, 1968.

Of the total income ($68,282) received by the 344 households from all sources during the month of July, 1968, the largest percentage (53%) was derived from wages and salaries. The sources of the remaining amounts were: 13.9% from Social Security payments, 5.3% from VA pensions or disability payments, 1.3% for child support and alimony, 12.8% from ADC (Aid for Dependent Children), 5.6% from welfare, and 8% from other miscellaneous sources such as rent receipts.

It is illuminating to note that among these St. Louis residents, payments from public assistance (ADC and general welfare) amounted to only 18.4% of the total household income in contrast to 53% of the total income derived from wages and salaries. This

dramatically illustrates that few of the ghetto residents are receiving a "free-ride" on the shoulders of the general public. This finding has been previously documented (Dunmore, 1968). These figures assume even greater significance when one considers the fact that public assistance payments averaged $36.52 per household or $9.41 per household member in our study. Of course, such averages can be misleading but they certainly have relevance to the broad generalities openly discussed in many American homes concerning the so-called welfare "free-loader." The facts brought to light here make it quite clear that these poverty-striken households are very poor despite the conscientious efforts of many concerned people. Similar conclusions were drawn by the Mayor's Commission in Cleveland after an extensive study of welfare in northeast Ohio (Stein, 1969).

Contributions by Each Household Member. The average monthly earnings per household were $106. However, this is a meaningless figure since half of the households had no income from earnings. The 344 households disclosing income data reported a total of 173 wage earners associated with their households. (These wage earners represented 164 of the households.) Their combined monthly earnings for July, 1968, were $36,480 or an average of $210.87 each. These monthly wages are equivalent to $2,530.44 a year and are indicative of the substandard level of employment for those actually working. On an hourly basis this would be about $1.11 an hour assuming continuous employment throughout the year.

The head of the household, wage earner or not, was the major contributor to the total household income. The contributions of household heads as a group, whether from wages, Social Security, or other sources, amounted to 87.8% of the total household income. Spouses' contributions were 5.7% and the contribution from other household members, 6.5%. Table 4A summarizes the source of incomes according to the contributor and the sources. It can be seen from this table that personal earnings represented the largest single income source from each group of household members (i.e., head of household, spouse, and others). In other words, each group contributed more from earnings toward household income than from any other single source.

TABLE 4A

Distribution of Income According to Source and Contributor (n=344)

Source	Contributor: Head of household	Spouse	Other	All
Earnings	52.5%	45.9%	72.6%	53.1%
Social Security	13.8%	19.0%	10.6%	13.9%
ADC	13.5%	11.2%	5.3%	12.8%
General welfare	4.8%	11.9%	10.7%	5.6%
Support & alimony	1.4%	.4%	.0%	1.3%
V.A. pension	6.0%	.0%	.0%	5.3%
Other income	8.0%	11.6%	.8%	8.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Percent of total household income	87.8%	5.7%	6.5%	100.0%

The following data concerning the heads of the household are also helpful in understanding financial resources. Of the heads, 42% earned wages, 22% received Social Security, 17% received ADC, 11% received general welfare, 9% received VA pensions, and 4% received alimony.

Conclusions. From the information in this chapter the following conclusions and implications can be drawn:

1. Employment issues pose a severe problem for this population. Half of the households reported no working member.

2. Substandard employment is high. For those employed, estimated average hourly wages are below the national minimum wage generally specified by law.

3. The total average income per household in this area, adjusted for size, falls markedly below current poverty thresholds. Expenditures for basic items such as food are minimal (i.e., $4.93 per week per person).

4. Contrary to public opinion, the majority of money comes from earnings. Less than 20% of the total income could be attributed to welfare. (Even though 28% of the heads of household received welfare benefits.) The average amount of money from welfare for all individuals represented by the respondents' households was nominal, less than $10 per month.

UNIT III

Concerns of the Urban Poor

The data presented in Unit II points to the severe economic deprivation of a specified geographical area in St. Louis. Limited financial resources, lack of job opportunities, poor and crowded housing, and unstable families are evident along with lack of mobility, limited education, segregation, and possible discrimination. This background information provides a framework for a better understanding of the attitudes and concerns of the individuals in this environment—what do they see as problems and what do they see as some of the solutions not only for themselves but for other individuals in their neighborhood?

CHAPTER 5

Major Problems and Solutions

The majority of middle-class Americans are likely to consider "lack of motivation" of the disadvantaged as the major problem and the reason for their plight. On the other hand, a wide variety of solutions or programs are offered to alleviate their plight such as improved housing, better health care, or a guaranteed basic income. In this chapter we shall investigate the major problems and recommended solutions *from the viewpoint of the urban poor* themselves. In other words, an attempt is made to let the ghetto residents speak for themselves to determine whether they perceive their problems and envision solutions in the same way as middle-class Americans, leaders from the ghetto, counselors, service agency personnel, or politicans.

Major Ghetto Problems. Each interviewee was asked, "What do you think are the biggest problems people face in this area?" As could be expected, assorted problems were mentioned and included such items as housing, neighborhood, neighbors, children, disorder, lack of jobs, discrimination, etc. Their spontaneous responses were recorded verbatim. After all interviewing was completed these responses were studied, categorized, and coded. In categorizing, it was possible to differentiate between "external problems" and "internal problems." External referred to problems blamed on the "establishment" or on the outside community. For example, if a person named housing as a problem along with such comments as "dirty building," "high rent," or "broken down," this response was categorized under *housing with landlord's responsibility,* or *externally* caused. On the other hand, a statement such as "a person don't care about their homes" was categorized under *housing with renter's responsibility,* or *internally* caused. In a like manner, responses such as "no park for children" and "parents don't look after their children" were categorized respectively as external and internal. Table 5A illustrates the per-

centage of interviewees designating different problems and whether they were externally or internally caused.

TABLE 5A

Major Ghetto Problems and Their Perceived Source

(n=349)

Problem	Perceived source	Percent of total sample
Housing	Establishment	20
	Peers & themselves	2
Neighborhood	Establishment	12
	Peers & themselves	3
Children	Establishment	3
	Peers & themselves	9
Disorder	Establishment	1
	Peers & themselves	18
Other	Establishment	14
	Peers & themselves	10
No problem		8

Analysis of Table 5A indicates that half of the most important problems designated by ghetto residents were attributed to causes outside their own control. On the other hand, 42% of the interviewees indicated that the problems were of their own making; and a small percentage (8%) did not mention any major ghetto problem. Problems relating to housing and neighborhood were much more likely to be seen as externally caused, whereas problems relating to children and disorder were generally attributed to themselves. It is also of value to note that over two-thirds of the respondents volunteered more than one major problem.

The public media often emphasize police harrassment and discrimination. In this group the responses in reference to the police were minimal. In fact, the percentage of comments related to lack of protection by the police (4%) was greater than the percentage of comments related to unwanted intervention or harrassment (2%). In addition, specific references to discrimination amounted to only 3% of all responses. These findings are in strong conflict with images projected by the public press as well as with findings of other studies (e.g., Campbell & Schuman, 1968) which specifically invited these kinds of comments.

As one reflects on the crowded living situation of these individuals plus their limited economic resources, the perceived

problems mirror a marked degree of apathy. The degree is greater than might be anticipated from the recent emphasis of the mass media on violence, on the overt hostilities of the more vocal militants, and on the expressions of others concerned about ghetto problems. At the same time, there is a substantial generalized antipathy towards the establishment which provides a basis for potentially volatile situations.

Solutions to Ghetto Problems. In an effort to probe into the ghetto residents' perceptions of basic solutions to their problems, each interviewee was asked, "What would it take for people in your neighborhood to have a better life?" If he indicated more than one solution he was further questioned, "Which is the most important?" He then was asked, "What kind of help could you, yourself, use the most?" The response patterns took form in a way that made it possible to analyze proposed solutions along two dimensions: what the interviewees saw as of most help to their peers or others in the community, and secondly, what they saw as of most help to themselves. These data are summarized in Table 5B.

TABLE 5B

Solutions Offered for Peers and for Oneself

(n=349)

Solution	For peers (n=349)	For oneself (n=349)
Money	19%	42%
Environment	22%	24%
Jobs	22%	18%
Schooling	5%	5%
Motivation	23%	3%
Don't know	9%	8%
Total	100%	100%

The interviewees offered a variety of solutions with regard to people in their community such as the need for more money, more jobs, environmental changes, and personal motivation—each category receiving approximately 20% of the responses. Schooling was seldom seen as a solution (5%). There was considerable discrepancy between what these people saw as of most help for themselves and of most value to those in the general

community. First, the interviewees saw money as a much more important solution for themselves (42%) than for peers (19%). The importance of money as a solution for oneself was also found in a study of unskilled, disadvantaged adults (Johnson & Gutsch, 1968). Secondly, they rarely saw motivation as a solution for themselves (3%) but mentioned it more often as an important solution for peers (23%). Table 5B illustrates these findings. It is noteworthy to observe that in response to a more generalized question concerning people-in-general as opposed to people in their community, 53% saw personal motivation as the most important factor.

The proposed solutions for their peers might approximate those expected from middle-class Americans. Therefore, we could infer that middle-class attitudes are also present among this core group of disadvantaged individuals. As seen above, however, the percept changes drastically when they consider solutions for themselves. They do not see these "middle-class" solutions as being applicable to themselves. They want the more immediately defined and negotiable "money" to help alleviate their problems. Out of this situation arises an apparent paradox. The disadvantaged person may agree, in part, with middle-class America that motivation plays a large role in the plight of a certain number of disadvantaged individuals, *but not* for himself personally. In light of this finding, it is probable that suggestions for mustering personal motivation to succeed will have little impact on ghetto residents.

The need for more job opportunities is seen as a reasonable solution by many of the interviewees for themselves as well as for their peers (18% and 22%, respectively). In contrast, schooling is not seen as a likely solution for either the subject himself or his peers, being 5% of the total responses in each case. This latter attitude seems contrary to the objectives of many poverty programs that are primarily designed to enhance the educational competencies of the urban adult disadvantaged.

Conclusions. Several unexpected findings occurred with respect to perceptions of the poor toward their major problems and remedies:

1. At the time of the study, August, 1968, these St. Louis ghetto residents were neither fully blaming the establishment for their

problems nor denying their own responsibility in contributing to the problems they were experiencing.

2. Issues such as police brutality and discrimination appear to be overplayed in the mass media since they were seldom spontaneously offered as major problems in contrast to such issues as lack of jobs, housing, etc. General hostility toward the establishment was expressed, however, in 50% of the responses.

3. Ghetto residents acknowledged that personal motivation appeared to be a significant problem for many of their ghetto peers. Nevertheless, they were generally unwilling to acknowledge this as a significant problem for themselves and were much more likely to believe that increased financial support was their most immediate need.

4. Educational efforts are necessary for long-range improvement for the disadvantaged. Again, this was not perceived as a critical factor by the inhabitants themselves. Data in the previous chapter also indicated that increased educational attainment alone does not insure economic improvement.

CHAPTER 6

Employment Concerns

In the preceding chapter we sought to develop a general understanding of the major problems and solutions as spontaneously stated by inner-city residents. More specific issues are dealt with in this chapter. Of particular concern are the responses to those questions on the interview schedule that were directly related to problems of employment *per se*. As was seen in Chapter 4, the major source of income was from employment, pointing to obvious relationships among substandard employment, unemployment, and disadvantagement. Because of such relationships, there is a need to investigate aspects of employment further.

Many public and private programs serving this population focus on employment issues. With respect to these concerns, a set of questions was developed to ask about employment considerations of the interviewee himself and, secondly about employment considerations of his friends. Subjects were asked if they were employed, at what job, and how long they had worked. If they were unemployed, they were asked when they had last worked, at what job, and why they were or were not looking for work. All were asked whether they had ever sought help from employment agencies and whether they had received the requested help. Similar questions were asked of them about their acquaintances who may have needed job assistance.

Employment Considerations of the Interviewees. Nearly all of the interviewees had had some work experience. The job levels that the individuals had held or were currently holding are illustrated in Table 6A. From this table it can be seen that the vast majority of interviewees had held jobs in service or semi-skilled job categories. Less than 2% of the group held professional-level jobs. Similarly, few held positions in the clerical and sales areas or in skilled craftsmen job areas. These findings parallel those of other surveys (e.g., Ashenfelter, 1968).

TABLE 6A

Work Experience and Employment Status

(n=349)

Type of work experience	Not employed (n=295)	Employed (n=54)
Professional	2%	2%
Clerical & sales	5%	9%
Service	40%	67%
Skilled	3%	5%
Semiskilled	28%	15%
Unskilled	8%	2%
No work	14%	n/a
Total	100%	100%

Looking at employment status from another perspective, 15% were employed at the time of the interview, 25% were not employed but were seeking employment, and 60% were not employed and were not currently looking for work. In investigating why the unemployed were not working, it was found that the majority of those who were seeking employment gave reasons for not working related to lack of jobs, being fired, or to their own inadequacies or qualifications for obtaining a job (72%). In contrast, of those who were not employed and not looking for work, the majority (76%) offered more personal reasons such as health, pregnancy, marital status, or retirement.

In reviewing all of the reasons given for lack of employment, health and disability were the most predominant. Another major reason was that they were either fired or laid off or the job was terminated. About 10% each gave as reasons: pregnancy and child care problems; job dissatisfaction, low pay, or dangerous job; and retirement.

When the interviewees were asked about job satisfaction, the majority of both those not employed and those employed reported satisfaction with current or previous jobs (76% and 69%, respectively). Nevertheless, among those who were currently employed, half stated that they would like to change jobs. For those who indicated they would like to change jobs, a marked shift in job choices occurred. Of these, only 29% indicated that they would choose jobs in the service area, and 32% indicated aspirations for professional, clerical, and sales-type jobs. The percentage inter-

ested in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs remained comparable to the past employment experiences of this group. In interpreting these findings, it appears that among those who are currently employed and perhaps making the best economic adjustment, many of them are dissatisfied with service occupations—an area in which there are increasing numbers of job demands and openings. One might speculate that with increased emphasis on black pride, there may be an increasing averision towards service-related jobs among blacks.

Data collected indicated shaky job tenure for this population. Nearly 100 respondents said that they had worked the past year, but only half of that number were working at the time of the interview. The duration of chronic unemployment is further illustrated by the finding that 158 interviewees, or almost half the subjects, had not been working for over three years. Of those currently employed, a majority worked 30-40 hours per week and stated that the jobs they held were of a year-round nature.

Employment Concerns of Acquaintances. In order to gain a broader picture of the general employment problems in the community, the interviewees were asked, "About how many people do you know right now who need a full-time job?" A total of 132 indicated they knew from one to five people, 29 indicated six to ten, and 38 indicated over ten. Additional questions were posed to determine why their acquaintances could not find jobs and also to elicit suggestions as to how such individuals could obtain employment. Results of these queries are provided in Table 6B.

TABLE 6B

Distribution of Variables Seen as Problems and Seen as Solutions for Acquaintances

(n=349)

Variable	Seen as problem (n=349)	Seen as solution (n=349)
Schooling	16%	13%
Personal	15%	6%
Environment	13%	9%
Jobs	12%	20%
No problem or solution offered	44%	53%
Total	100%	100%

The reasons offered for unemployment of acquaintances were relatively evenly divided among the persons' educational deficiencies, personal motivation, environmental conditions, and job opportunities. With respect to recommended actions, personal motivation was minimized and the need for jobs was mentioned more often. The kind of individuals most often mentioned in need of employment were males in the age bracket of 25-34 with several dependents.

The role of governmental and private agencies in alleviating employment problems was investigated by asking the interviewees whether they knew of anyone who had been helped by some agency to get a job. About one-fourth answered this question in the affirmative. The agencies most often reported as helpful employment-wise to their friends were poverty agencies (40%) such as Job Corps. This was followed by government Employment Service (27%), indigenous groups such as Urban League and CORE (13%), and church, charities, and the Red Cross (11%). Other miscellaneous sources accounted for the rest.

They were further asked if they felt the government programs should be more active in seeking out the disadvantaged and providing services to them. An overwhelming majority (90%) said "yes." Similar results were reported from a statewide survey (University of Missouri-Columbia, 1969a). In addition, surprisingly few (20%) were opposed to the idea of women on welfare with children working; 15% said "it depends" and 63% said it was a "good idea." Because of this openness to and acceptance of employment assistance by the inner-city residents, continued use of more active outreach procedures as a means for alleviating employment problems is supported.

The effectiveness with which employment agencies meet the needs of inner-city residents was investigated from another perspective by seeking to determine the kinds of services that acquaintances sought and received as well as those sought and not received. The findings are summarized in Table 6C. Of 117 acquaintances who sought and received help, 58% received employment assistance, 34% received training and schooling, 4% received financial assistance, and 4% received other kinds of help such as counseling. For those acquaintances who did not obtain the help sought, 82% were specifically looking for job placement.

In other words, scrutinizing Table 6C suggests that agencies may be overemphasizing the provision of services in the training areas and may need to look at and give more consideration to their placement programs. As indicated in the previous chapter, interviewees seldom saw schooling as a solution to their own problems (only 5%). Effectiveness of programs may be increased by gearing them more to immediate needs although *not* neglecting provisions for longer-term goals where appropriate. The personal characteristics of those who sought and received help in contrast to those who sought and did not receive it were strikingly similar. In both cases, they were likely to be men around 30 years of age with dependents.

TABLE 6C

Employment Assistance Received by Acquaintances Obtaining Help and Not Obtaining Help

Type of assistance	Sought & obtained (n=117)	Sought & not obtained (n=88)
Job placement	58%	82%
Training & schooling	34%	9%
Financial	4%	9%
Other	4%	0%
Total	100%	100%

Conclusions. Information provided in this chapter may have considerable relevance to understanding the employment needs of the urban poor. Major findings were:

1. Data concerning both the interviewee and his acquaintances indicate high levels of unemployment and substandard employment. For example, 50% of the heads-of-the-households were not employed, and only 15% of the total sample were employed. Of the 85% not employed, half were looking for work. Half of all respondents indicated numerous acquaintances in need of employment. These findings are further augmented by the marginal wages earned and the relatively low-level occupational categories of their jobs.

2. Reasons for not working fell largely into the following categories—health related reasons (but seldom retirement), lack of jobs, and lack of job skills. These problems point to the need

for comprehensive and individualized attention to help overcome employment barriers.

3. With respect to job satisfaction, the majority indicated satisfaction with the kind of jobs they held or had held. Yet, job instability is clearly indicated. Of those currently employed, over half would like to change jobs. Among those not employed, 45% had not worked for over two years. For the small group who were employed and who wanted to change jobs, their aspirations indicated a desire to avoid service-related jobs. This has particular implication at a time of increasing demand for help in service-related occupations.

4. Surprisingly, almost all interviewees indicated that the government should take a more active role in solving employment problems (90%). This is further corroborated by their recognition of poverty programs as being helpful more often than traditional programs of Employment Service and indigenous or private agencies.

5. Employment agencies are perceived as being more helpful in providing job training or schooling than they are at locating jobs. It is conceivable that immediate steps should be taken to get jobs for as many of these people as possible, thereby increasing their economic well-being and, perhaps, making the available schooling and training more relevant.

CHAPTER 7

Personal Characteristics and Concerns

In the preceding two chapters we explored major ghetto problems and suggested solutions as seen by the inner-city poor. Special attention was also given to employment concerns. The present chapter focuses on the influences that personal characteristics (i.e., race, sex, age, marital status, and education) have upon the way these people perceive their problems. The following information should be helpful in understanding some of the reasons for differences that occur among various research studies of the poor that have been based on special populations.

Perception of Ghetto Problems in Relation to Personal Characteristics. A primary source of ghetto problems was ascribed by the ghetto residents to themselves. A total of 41% indicated problems that were based, in part, on their own behavior. Among these inner-city residents who were most likely to indicate this as a source of problems were significantly higher proportions of interviewees who were older, female, and divorced, separated, or widowed. At the same time there was a noticeable trend for them to be less educated. This cluster of characteristics suggests self-blame is more likely to occur among subgroups of the poor who may be passive, isolated from others, resistive to change, and conservative. Many surveys based solely on household samples in inner-cities are likely to reach this kind of population—that is, an older group of individuals who are predominately women.

The next major source of problems was attributed to the "establishment" (e.g., items relating to landowners and public facilities). A total of 35% of the respondents indicated problems in this area. Significantly more of these individuals were married and there was a tendency for them to be better educated. Iron-

ically, it could be inferred from this finding that this group of seemingly more stable individuals appears to be the most resentful and hostile to the general environment. It is quite likely that such individuals are more keenly and acutely aware of and frustrated by problems of discrimination and lack of opportunities. Results of other studies (Newman, 1969; Strasel & Larkin, 1968) support this hypothesis.

The third major problem area was economic with special reference to employment considerations. Significantly greater proportions of male and single interviewees fell in this group. Most of these were respondents from the streetcorner sample. This finding supports that of Liebow (1967) who also conducted a survey of streetcorner Negro men and found that they were interested in achieving the goals and values of the larger society. Such individuals are seldom eligible for welfare benefits and could more readily feel the pressures of lack of employment opportunities. These same individuals also tended to be better educated.

Those who gave no response concerning problems in the ghetto were significantly older, married, and tended to have less education. Thus, the older individuals were likely either to blame themselves or to see no problems. In contrast, those with greater potentialities, including more education, were more prone to place the blame outside themselves and on the "establishment" and economic conditions generally.

These findings are summarized in Table 7A which illustrates the significant relationships of age, sex, marital status, and education to perceptions of ghetto problems. However, it should be noted that there were no differences in perceived problems according to race.

Major Solutions as Influenced by Personal Characteristics. In investigating perceived solutions to problems, answers were sought from several different perspectives—the interviewee's proposed solutions for 1) himself, 2) peers in his neighborhood, and 3) people in general. The following analysis is based on the perceived solutions for the second category, i.e., peers. It was reasoned that comments concerning their friends rather than themselves or people-in-general were more realistic and valid.

TABLE 7A

Specific Characteristics Associated with Personal Variables According to Perceived Sources of Ghetto Problems

(n=349)

Personal variable	Perceived source of problem*				Level of sig.
	Peers	Establishment (e.g., housing)	Economic (e.g., jobs)	None	
Race	—	—	—	—	.385
Sex	Female	—	Male	—	.003
Age	Older	—	—	Older	.048
Marital status	Other	Married	Single	Married	.009
Education	Less	More	More	Less	.089

*Of the total group, 41% saw peers as a major source of problem, 35% the establishment, 15% economic, and 9% saw no problem.

In other words, it was felt that for themselves they might be too close to their own problems to perceive solutions accurately and for people-in-general they may be voicing responses as assimilated from middle-class cultural values. This position was taken because of the findings presented earlier regarding perceived solutions to ghetto problems from a personal and peer point of view (Chapter 5).

Personal motivation (23%), more job opportunities (22%), and improved housing (22%) were seen as equally important in resolving problems of the ghetto (Table 7B). Of those who proposed changes in housing, significantly more were white, were women, were divorced or separated, and had more education. In marked contrast, of those who proposed changes in employment there were significantly more blacks, males, and single individuals who were also better educated than the group as a whole. This finding indicates the real possibility of misunderstanding ghetto residents when one fails to specify what particular subgroup is being investigated.

With respect to those who perceived personal motivation as the most feasible solution (23% of the total), it was found that this group had significantly more married individuals. There were no differences according to race, sex, age, or education. Such a finding points to psychological differences between those who

TABLE 7B

Specific Characteristics Associated with Personal Variables According to Perceived Solutions for Peers

(n=349)

Personal variable	Perceived solution*						Level of sig.
	Personal motivation	More job opportunities	Better housing	More money	More schooling	Don't know	
Race	—	Black	White	White	Black	White	.004
Sex	—	Males	Females	—	Males	Females	.001
Age	—	—	—	—	—	—	.220
Marital status	Married	Single	Other	Married	Single	Married	.001
Education	—	More	More	Less	Less	—	.049

*Of the total group, 23% indicated that personal motivation was the primary solution for peers, 22% more job opportunities, 22% housing, 19% money, 5% schooling, and 9% no response.

have assumed the responsibility of marriage (and perhaps responsibility for their own personal direction) and those who are currently separated or single.

The need for more money as a major solution was expressed by 19% of the interviewees. Significantly more of these individuals were white, married, and less educated. Such a finding may be opposite to the expectations of many white middle-class Americans who may feel that the majority of blacks simply want "handouts." In this present population such a desire certainly was not indicated.

Schooling, as previously mentioned, was seldom seen as an important solution (5%). Among the small group seeing this as a solution, there were significantly more blacks, males, and single people who also had significantly less education.

A total of 9% were unable to give any solutions. Significantly more of these were white, female, and married. In summary, of the personal characteristics reviewed, all but age significantly affected perceived *solutions*. These findings are summarized in Table 7B.

Who Needs What? Various aspects of the data indicated that an interviewee's recommendations varied according to whether

he was talking about himself, peers, or others. Furthermore, there appeared to be marked differences in perceptions between males and females. Table 7C summarizes some of the significant relationships among these variables. When the subject was talking about himself, a significantly greater proportion of men saw jobs as the needed solution whereas a greater proportion of women commented upon needed changes in environment or schooling. When talking about their acquaintances, men mentioned jobs or schooling as a recommended possibility and women still favored environmental changes. When talking about people-in-general the men no longer named jobs but proposed such things as schooling and environment in significantly higher proportions than women who now either mentioned jobs or gave no response. In other words, the men appeared to want immediate, tangible action for themselves but suggested more general kinds of things for other people. Women were more likely to look at schooling or environmental changes for themselves or friends and see jobs as a more remote solution. This difference between the "immediacy" for men and "remoteness" for women is of particular relevance to employment-oriented programs. It would appear that Pearl's (1968) contention that job placement should come before training may be more relevant for males than females.

TABLE 7C

Solutions Proposed for Self, Peers, and Others According to Respondent's Sex

(n=349)

Recommendations for:	Sex of respondent		Level of sig.
	Male (n=121)	Female (n=228)	
Self	Jobs	Environment & schooling	.034
Peers	Jobs & schooling	Environment & don't know	.002
Others	Environment & schooling	Jobs & don't know	.001

Conclusions. This chapter has documented the biases that occur according to race, sex, age, marital status, and education of subjects. In correlating the results of various surveys, one must look carefully at subject characteristics to understand possible differ-

ences as well as similarities that may have occurred. Findings of special importance were:

1. In this particular group of inner-city residents the young, black male was most concerned about lack of job opportunities.

2. Older, less educated interviewees were more conservative in their attitudes and were more likely to place blame upon ghetto residents for their problems.

3. From the finding that the younger subjects had more education plus the finding that education appeared to be related to increased dissatisfaction, one might anticipate that the unrest in the inner-city will continue to grow unless economic opportunities are vastly improved.

UNIT IV

Informational Resources: Utilization and Implications

The plight of the poor was given considerable attention during the 1960's with most of the emphasis on critical issues such as unemployment, malnutrition, crime, inadequate housing, discrimination, and the like. Individuals such as Caplovitz (1967) and Moynihan (1968) have helped interpret these issues for us. However, little attention has been given to communication which is also a fundamental issue. Some have studied communication from the context of understanding individuals who have different subcultural language patterns. In the following unit the topic of "communicating with the urban poor" is considered from a different perspective, i.e., the utilization of mass media and other related channels of communication ordinarily available. The relationships of personal characteristics of the poor to their usage of such information and the influences on their behavior are investigated and discussed.

CHAPTER 8

An Appraisal of the Flow of Product Information

Unless treated strictly on a theoretical basis, human communication is a topic that needs to be studied in a specific context. In this chapter communication with the poor is analyzed from a "market environment" perspective. Special attention is given to the sources and availability of information, their relative effectiveness, and how they might affect the expenditure of financial resources. This approach gives added depth to our more general understanding of the poor developed earlier from a social-psychological perspective.

The particular context selected for study has a unique relevance for those living in poverty. Modern technology has brought unparalleled abundance to the market place which nurtures new desires within consumers (e.g., the preference for color television instead of black and white). From an advertising point of view, public communication through all kinds of channels is designed not only to inform but to develop and increase such desires. The same technology, however, may make consumer choices more difficult. In such an environment the average shopper can hardly be expected to choose wisely in light of the infinite product variation, the added complexity of trading stamps, and the subtleties of cents-off deals. The consumer's job is further complicated by the fact that prices tend not to be uniform and even in different stores within the same chain may vary daily.

It could be anticipated that these problems would be magnified many times for the disadvantaged. Given this orientation, one might ask a very basic question: to what extent is the social and economic deprivation of ghetto residents reflected in their contact with the consumer market through the mass media? That is, are they as deprived of information concerning the selection of goods and services as they are of the actual goods and

services themselves? A specific example may make this clearer. Do they know about and use food stamps? This chapter deals with general media exposure patterns, such as those related to broadcast and print media, and their relative effectiveness in reaching the poor. The subsequent chapter will be concerned with the relationship of personal characteristics of the respondents to their media experiences.

Broadcast Media. Ownership of radios and television sets was at a high level, with 84% of the respondents indicating radio ownership and 84% also indicating television ownership (77% black and white, and 7% color TV). The national television and radio ownership level is approximately 95%. Because of the limited resources available to this group for food, clothing, and housing, such a level of ownership might be interpreted by some as over-indulgence. Such buying is sometimes referred to as "compensatory consumption," or the over-indulgence in selected consumer goods as an attempt to compensate for the more general deprivation experienced (Caplovitz, 1967).

Although the incidence of radio and television ownership in this population was identical, the listening and viewing patterns were substantially different. Slightly more than 70% of those interviewed claimed that they were regular television viewers while only 58% indicated similar regularity in their radio listening habits. Specific time exposure patterns also varied. Morning radio listening (particularly before 9:00 a.m.) was much more popular than morning television viewing. Radio listening then dropped off from its morning high to a lower early afternoon level while television viewing picked up at this time. Attention given to both radio and television then fell off somewhat in the late afternoon, but both broadcast media attracted large audiences among these low-income persons during the evening hours. Even with these variations, the total reach of the broadcast media was extensive and exceeded that of the print media in this ghetto area. Tables 8A, 8B, and 8C provide more detailed data about these exposure patterns.

From these findings it can be surmized that a large proportion of the urban poor may be reached through broadcast media. The most likely times are before 9:00 a.m. and after 6:00 p.m. by

TABLE 8A

Hours of Television Viewing Each Day

(n=349)

Amount of time	Percent of total sample
Less than 1 hour	7%
At least 1 hour, but less than 3 hours	21%
At least 3 hours, but less than 5 hours	20%
5 hours or more	23%
None: do not watch television	29%
Total	100%

TABLE 8B

Time Periods of Television Viewing

(n=246)

Viewing hours	Percent who watched television*
Before 9:00 a.m.	9%
9:00 a.m.–12:00 noon	23%
12:00 noon–3:00 p.m.	41%
3:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.	27%
After 6:00 p.m.	61%

*These will add to more than 100% because of multiple viewing times

TABLE 8C

Time Periods of Radio Listening

(n=203)

Listening hours	Percent who listened to radio*
Before 9:00 a.m.	52%
9:00 a.m.–12:00 noon	37%
12:00 noon–3:00 p.m.	28%
3:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.	23%
After 6:00 p.m.	43%

*These will add to more than 100% because of multiple listening times.

radio and after 6:00 p.m. by television. Program interest patterns showed considerable variation between the two broadcast media. Radio drew most attention as a source of music and secondly as a means of keeping informed on news, weather, and sports. Only incidental interest was expressed in other radio programming. Interest in television programming was concentrated in four areas. The greatest interest was in soap operas with 24% of the

246 regular television viewers mentioning that they watched this type of program often. News, weather, and sports reports followed closely as did interest in adventure programs (excluding westerns) and comedy programs.

Print Media. Reading habits of this population were investigated by asking how much time they spent in reading in a week, what magazines and newspapers they read, and for what reasons and what kinds of information were they most likely to read.

Nearly two-thirds of these St. Louis residents stated that they read or at least looked at a newspaper regularly. St. Louis has two major newspapers—the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Globe-Democrat* with the former having a vastly greater circulation. Among the interviewees who claimed to be regular newspaper readers, the same preference was found as 73% of the total group referred to the *Post* and 18% to the *Globe*. Other local newspapers and weeklies were seldom mentioned.

Magazine readership was considerably less than that of newspapers with about 40% claiming to read at least one magazine each week. Interest in magazines was spread over a wide variety of publications. Preference was most often expressed for publications such as *Life*, *Ebony*, and *Look*. Romance magazines followed in popularity with women's magazines and news-oriented magazines a close third. Overall, the actual time spent in reading by this population was quite limited. A total of 39% did almost no reading at all (7.2% didn't read at all, and 31.8% read less than one hour per week). Tables 8D through 8G graphically summarize the preceding information.

TABLE 8D

General Reading Habits

(n=349)

Reading time	Distribution of interviewees
Do not read at all	7%
Read less than 1 hour per week	32%
Read at least 1 hour, but less than 3 hours/week	20%
Read at least 3 hours, but less than 8 hours/week	18%
Read 8 hours or more each week	19%
Not ascertained	4%
Total	100%

TABLE 8E

Types of Newspapers Read

(n=222)

Types	Distribution of readership
Daily city paper	86%
Local community paper	7%
Both daily city & local community paper	5%
Other papers	2%
Total	100%

TABLE 8F

Expressed Newspaper Preference

(n=222)

Preference	Distribution of respondents
Post-Dispatch	74%
Globe-Democrat	18%
Other papers	5%
Do not have a preference	3%
Total	100%

TABLE 8G

Magazines Read Regularly

(n=142)

Categories	Distribution of magazine readership
News magazines, e.g., *Time, Newsweek*	7%
General interest magazines, e.g., *Life, Look*	23%
Men's magazines, e.g., *Esquire, Playboy*	6%
Women's magazines, e.g., *McCall's, Vogue*	8%
Romance & movie magazines, e.g., *Modern Romance*	16%
Sports magazines, e.g., *Sports Illustrated*	1%
Negro oriented magazines	
Ebony	26%
Tan	1%
Jet	5%
Other Negro oriented magazines	1%
Other magazines, special interest, e.g., *Photography*	3%
Not ascertained	3%
Total	100%

Relative Media Effectiveness. The preceding results indicate that television and newspapers reach the majority of the urban poor and are among the more effective modes generally available for communicating with this group. Both media have relatively high rates of exposure with 70% of the interviewees claiming to be regular television viewers and two-thirds regular newspaper readers. The actual time exposures were quite different, however. Over 60% of the subjects spent one hour or more a day watching television, whereas less than 20% spent that amount of time in reading.

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, communication needs to be studied in a specific context. In other words, there should be some implications in a certain prescribed area, and, in this case, we were looking for economic implications. Specifically, questions were asked of the interviewees that related to delineating those sources of information (communication) that were most helpful in guiding them towards purchases. "How much information can you get from a newspaper about products you might buy . . .?" "What do you think of most radio and television commercials . . .?" They were also provided with a list of such things as magazines, television, newspapers, radio, store window signs, advice from friends, and advice from social workers and asked to indicate which sources were most useful in helping them choose a product and which were least helpful in getting product information. They were also questioned about other general and personal information sources, such as "Is there someone whom you might ask for information or advice about such a purchase?"

Newspapers and television were generally seen as the two most useful sources in helping these individuals get the best values in choosing products-in-general. With respect to a specific product, groceries, store circulars were seen as most valuable (44% of the respondents), followed by observation (28%), newspapers (23%), and radio, TV, and friends (5%). Although personal contact may appear to be a very desirable means of communicating with these economically deprived people, they themselves do not place as high a value on this type of exchange as one might expect. Advice from friends and store window signs were considered about equally useful. In fact, when given a hypothetical situation regarding the purchase of a television set, over

60% said that they personally would not ask anyone for advice before buying such an item.

An obvious indication of the failure of communication of governmental programs can be noted in the limited usage of food stamps by these inner-city poor. Only 16% of the interviewees reported using them. When non-users were questioned about reasons for not using them, most answers reflected a lack of knowledge about the food-stamp program and only a small percentage (10%) stated they were not eligible.

Another component of relative media effectiveness is the interrelationships among "exposures" to the different media. For instance, it could be expected that heavy television viewing might interfere with one's reading and vice-versa. It was found, however, that there was a significant relationship between the number of hours that a person spent watching television and the number of hours spent in newspaper readership. Similarly, there was a significant relationship between time spent in magazine readership and time spent in viewing television. In other words, those who read newspapers and magazines more also tended to view television more, while those who did not engage in newspaper and magazine reading were less likely to view television. No such relationships were found between radio listening habits and magazine or newspaper readership or television viewing behavior. In other words, listening to the radio seemed to be independent of whether the person was interested in watching television or reading.

These findings suggest that there may be two significantly different groups of individuals among the inner-city poor, as expressed by their interest in communication media, who exhibit different levels or forms of environmental consciousness. One group of individuals may have a relatively broad cosmopolitan orientation as expressed in their interest in reading and viewing behavior. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that they have a significantly greater level of personal involvement in community activities. But this contact with the mass media is one recognized prerequisite to eliciting their participation (Donahew, 1969). The other group may be much more local in reference to their environmental consciousness. This group appeared to be more concerned about their immediate neighborhood and house-

hold, an orientation which is more typical of the lower social class (Martineau, 1958).

Conclusions. The results of this study indicate that the mass media do reach the poor. What seems evident, however, is that to achieve optimum effectiveness in communicating with these people through the mass media, there are certain variances in their media exposure patterns and their information usage patterns that should be understood.

1. The inner-city poor have access to mass media such as radio, television, and newspapers to a relatively high degree. However, this finding does not mean that they have as much access to information as the middle-class American, nor does it imply that the messages they receive through traditional channels of communication are in the most usable form for them. The actual total exposure by certain subgroups may be extremely limited.

2. Personal sources of communication were used considerably less than anticipated. In fact, it was thought that this might be one of the major sources for providing information. It must be remembered that this was viewed from a market-product perspective in regard to obtaining knowledge for a specific purchase—that is, in buying products such as food and appliances. One can only speculate whether the preference for impersonal modes of information carries over to other issues as well. Since news items had a high priority, both in television and newspaper reading, it is possible that it does.

3. Knowledge among the poor about specific programs designed for them (e.g., food stamps) is limited and points to serious communication failures in such projects.

CHAPTER 9

Media Experiences and Personal Characteristics

Data in this chapter illustrate how personal characteristics affect an individual's use of and reaction to media experiences. Knowledge of relevant factors is critical in developing new programs so that they are understood and utilized by the ghetto residents. For example, specific action-oriented projects such as consumer education may not be able to cure poverty but may be important in helping to raise living standards of the poor (Peterson, 1965). Such programs could help individuals understand available choices, balance preferences against price utility, and match quality against realistic expenditures. However, the involvement of people in such activities is likely to be affected by the individual's educational attainment, with those least educated avoiding such programs. Well designed programs, therefore, may not be meaningful to nor understood by the target population unless introduced in a creative way and, perhaps, sold with an innovative flair. Insight into the relationships of a person's race, education, sex, and age to his media experiences provides some ideas of how to approach this critical problem.

Education and Media Experiences. As was anticipated, formal education and reading habits were significantly related among the inner-city poor. To illustrate, a low level of involvement in reading (less than one hour per week) was obtained for 43% of those without high school in contrast to 16% of those who had graduated. This kind of relationship goes beyond time spent in reading to the kinds of content read. For example, the attention given to general interest magazines exceeded news-oriented magazines by three to one among respondents having less than high school education. For those who had completed high school, the ratio was approximately one to one.

The nature of one's involvement in reading was also found to be related to market behavior. The criteria used in selecting a food store was, for example, significantly related to the time spent in reading. For interviewees who spent little time in reading, the greatest emphasis in choosing a store was placed on the convenience of the store's location with less emphasis placed on price. Conversely, for those who read the most, greater emphasis was placed on the food prices and less on store location. These findings are summarized in Table 9A.

TABLE 9A

Reasons for Choosing a Food Store According to Reading Habits

(n=349)

Reasons for choosing a food store	Hours of weekly reading				
	Do not read	Less than 1 hour	1-2 hours	3-7 hours	8 or more hours
Convenience	44%	41%	44%	29%	24%
Other	32%	33%	26%	22%	30%
Price	24%	26%	30%	49%	46%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Several factors logically contribute to these differences. First, and possibly the most important, those who spend the most time reading are better educated and, therefore, more perceptive generally. Furthermore, as individuals read more they greatly increase their chances of being exposed to specific information concerning meal preparation and food purchasing. The two most popular St. Louis newspapers regularly contain a large number of food store ads which, in themselves, provide a means of comparative shopping. Then, too, the very nature of traditional grocery store advertising should nurture a degree of price consciousness in people. Moreover, recipes, shopping hints, and other homemaking tips are offered on a continuous basis in the St. Louis papers. Some of the magazines that these individuals read also provide a variety of information on meal preparation and give some shopping guidance.

Whatever the interrelationship generally between level of formal education, time spent reading, and grocery store patronage, it appears to be quite clear in this case that those who have

the greatest exposure to the printed word, are the more price conscious. Such individuals are also likely to be the more prudent consumers. In conjunction with this finding, it was noted that although the shopping scope of the ghetto residents was limited, it was not as narrow as that found by Caplovitz (1965) in his New York City study. There also appeared to be more selective visitation of stores and greater reluctance to buy from door-to-door salesmen (89%) here than reported by Caplovitz (1965). Even though 54% in the present study stated they had to walk to get to the stores, 50% gave price selection as the most important factor in shopping while only 37% mentioned that nearness of the store was most important.

Media Experiences and Sex of Respondents. Only two instances were found where differences in media involvement and respondents' sex were related. The first appeared in conjunction with their general reading habits and the other concerned the types of magazines read.

Among these low-income respondents, men generally reported spending more time in reading than women. Furthermore, the men showed significantly more interest in news-oriented magazines and general interest magazines than women. The women in this group gave more attention to romance magazines such as *Modern Romances* and *True Confessions* as well as to traditional women's magazines including *Family Circle* and *McCall's.* As could be expected, men showed almost no interest in either of these magazines. Women, on the other hand, read magazines generally considered men's magazines (e.g., *Esquire* and *Playboy)* at the same rate as men. The readership of sports magazines was quite low and only included men.

Media Experiences and Interrelationship with Respondent's Race. The sources of information that a person feels will be most helpful to him in choosing a product were found to be significantly related to his race. White respondents generally favored "impersonal" sources to a greater extent than blacks. Newspapers were given by 41% of the whites as the most useful source for product information in contrast to 26% for the blacks. Nevertheless, blacks were somewhat more likely to look to television as a resource than whites (24% and 17%, respectively). Consistent with

their preference for personal sources, blacks were much more likely than whites to rank advice from friends as a useful source (24% in contrast to 15%). Furthermore, the blacks were more likely to place importance on advice from friends rather than others such as sales clerks and social workers.

The response of the blacks in this study toward broadcast advertising was also quite different from that of the whites. For example, in response to the question, "What do you think of most radio and television commercials . . . would you say in general they're entertaining, informative, or annoying?", 58% of the blacks responded with the positive connotations, entertaining or informative, in contrast to 27% of the whites. Similar findings have been reported elsewhere (Bogart, 1968, Roper, 1968).

Further examination of selected aspects of responses to media suggest the separateness of whites and blacks. The relative importance of friends, radio, store window signs, and magazines to the blacks may be related to sources that have rather personal orientations for them. These individuals frequently listened to Negro-oriented radio stations, shop at stores in their immediate neighborhood (some of which are Negro operated) and read magazines such as *Ebony*. This kind of phenomenon has been interpreted by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders as reflecting a distrust and dislike of the white-oriented media resulting from false portrayals of what goes on in the ghetto (National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, 1968). (Similar reasoning might be applied to white avoidance of black-oriented media.) Nevertheless, it should be underscored that this preference was relative and the blacks did not exclude the mass media that are more white oriented and white dominated. Both Negro magazines and Negro-oriented radio drew the attention of the poor black people. For example, 16% of the black interviewees claimed to read some Negro-oriented magazines every week. Yet general interest in essentially white-oriented magazines such as *Life, Reader's Digest,* and *Look* were mentioned by 11% of the Negroes. There was a similar pattern evident in Negro radio listening behaviors.

The preference of ghetto blacks for more personal sources of information may have other implications. For instance, job want ads as an impersonal written source might not be an effective

means of communication whereas other forms of personal contact generally unavailable from the "establishment" could be more beneficial. Programs like the one undertaken by the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation that incorporated a personal touch in conjunction with a computer based job-matching system may be much more effective (Davies, 1969).

These findings on racial differences in response to mass media generally confirm Bogart's conclusions (1968) regarding the importance of racially related differences in explaining media experiences. From recent results of a Bureau of Advertising Study, Bogart concluded that variations in mass media exposure are not ordinarily related to race. Additional evidence presented in his study, as well as findings of our current study, strongly suggests that other variables, particularly education, are more helpful than race in explaining observable differences in media experiences of these ghetto residents. In other words, even though the blacks had certain significant preferences in contrast to the whites, both groups are predominantly influenced by the more generally prevalent white-oriented mass media.

Age of Respondent and Its Relationship to Media Experiences. Age of the respondents was related to a very limited number of their mass media experiences. However, there was a definite relationship between the respondents' ages and their educational achievement. As indicated earlier, it was found that the younger people living in this area of St. Louis were better educated than the older residents. As a result of this, those communication experiences that are related to education were affected. For example, the older people did not spend as much time reading generally as did the younger ones. This was not noticeable when examining newspaper readership among these people (newspaper readership was rather high in all age groups), but it was quite obvious when analyzing their magazine reading habits. It was found that 53% of those 20-29 years old read magazines regularly, 49% of those 30-39 years old read magazines regularly, while only 33% of those 40-50 years old gave regular attention to magazines.

Some differences in interest by type of magazines also appeared. Romance magazine readership was primarily concentrated among the younger respondents, i.e., those under 30 years old.

The interest in women's magazines was also stronger among the younger respondents with most readers under 40, and no one over 60 ever mentioned this type of publication. News magazines received attention almost exclusively from those between 20 and 50 years of age. Nevertheless, the general interest magazines such as *Life* and *Look* appealed to all age groups to some extent.

Conclusions. The results of this portion of the study illustrate that personal characteristics such as level of educational accomplishment are related to these inner-city residents' reactions to and uses of channels of public communication. Also, specific instances were shown indicating how the use of communication affects consumer behavior. And it can be anticipated that the effects are even more widespread and pervasive. The major implications of the findings regarding the communication problem are:

1. One must definitely take into account the low level of educational attainment of a large majority of ghetto residents and in some instances, more personal means of transmitting information may enhance communication. This finding seems particularly applicable in attempting to reach the poor black.

2. Creative ways of increasing communication are needed if ghetto residents are to take fuller advantage of various opportunities open to them.

UNIT V

Other Findings

We were tempted to title our study the "poverty shibboleth." Certainly such words as poverty, welfare recipient, and ghetto become catchwords that poorly define the individual and human characteristics of the immense variety of people to which such words refer. Information presented in the subsequent two chapters illustrates the futility of so categorizing the poor. The additional findings and discussion should provide insight into the meanings and implications of poverty as found in this survey.

CHAPTER 10

Additional Significant Observations

Only a small proportion of the total information amassed in the survey has been presented. It is not feasible to include all the possible analyses of the data in this report. However, some of the additional findings and relationships that may be helpful in understanding the present study are discussed in this chapter.

Validity of the Respondents' Answers. Responses of the poor to many questions in a positive fashion (e.g., "TV and radio ads are entertaining" and "women with children should work") is suggestive of a "yes-saying" bias. Answers to other questions cleary indicate that such a bias does *not* exist. For example, 62% of the respondents indicated that it was a good idea to buy products "on sale" yet 64% of them said they did not do so. Similarly, 76% said that people can "get ahead" if they try, yet 77% believed that people in their neighborhood just do not plan ahead. The use of skilled interviewers, particularly the use of black interviewers with black subjects, was believed to be a major factor in the elicitation of honest expressions and should have increased the validity of the overall findings. Subjective reaction of interviewers was that interviewees were interested in the interview schedule and cooperated nondefensively.

Life Style. The exigencies of low incomes undoubtedly impose a life style on the inner-city poor that is different from middle-class America. The finding that the majority of respondents themselves do not plan ahead nor believe that their peers plan ahead reflects the futility of their so doing. Only 18%, for example, reported that at sometime during the year they had "extra" money. Few saved such money and most bought somthing special with it or paid off a debt. The inability to do selective shopping is

underscored by the fact that only 23% owned automobiles and 42% stated that they were limited to shopping within walking distance.

One might expect that the majority of the poor would be forced to buy on credit. At the same time the very fact of being poor limits opportunities for credit buying. The results indicated that 42% of the respondents were buying something on credit. The percentages buying various items were: furniture, 39%; appliances, 34%; clothing, 37%; groceries, 16%; and automobiles, 13%. Differential preference in what are considered household necessities is illustrated by TV and radio ownership, which was noted previously to be at a high rate, in contrast to an item such as a clothes dryer which was at a low rate (7%, in contrast to 35% for population with household income greater than $4,000 annually, Shostak, 1968).

The above findings on the limited economic resources of the inner-city poor are important in understanding their acknowledged failure to plan ahead. The apparent relationship between life style and difficulty in following through on long range plans would be frustrating to employment counselors who, for example, may be pushing long-term employment objectives through training. The disadvantaged may choose direct placement into a dead-end job in preference to training that offers eventual long-term advantages.

Racial Differences. Several racial differences have been previously discussed and are incorporated here with additional findings. Both groups had the same proportions of married individuals but significantly more of the blacks were "separated" and more whites "single." There were no significant differences in household income of the races nor in the percentage employed. However, among those not working, more blacks that whites reported that they were looking for employment. Furthermore, significantly more of the blacks had higher levels of educational attainment.

Possible influence of limited education on life style can be surmized from the finding that among this group of inner-city poor, the whites who had less education were also less likely to plan ahead and had a greater tendency than the blacks to "spend"

extra cash. Furthermore, whites were more likely to see money as a solution to their problems than were the blacks.

The special implications of ghetto living for blacks become strikingly apparent when respondents' answers to queries about major ghetto problems are further analyzed. In Chapter 7, it was stated that the races did not differ in their perceptions of the major problem in the ghetto. However, significant differences were found from analysis of the second and third problems that were spontaneously offered. The blacks, in contrast to whites, attributed most of the blame to the "establishment" for additional problems. Similar differences in solutions offered for problems were also found. Neither blacks nor whites differed significantly in proposed solutions when talking about people-in-general. But they did differ significantly when talking about themselves. In this case, the blacks were more likely to mention the need for job opportunities, and whites the need for increased income. These findings would suggest that in large metropolitan inner-city areas, discrimination, lack of positive experiences, and so on may have led to the entrapment of significant proportions of blacks who have the desire to do better for themselves. Among both blacks and whites there may be, of course, a large proportion who could be considered the hard-core unemployed by virtue of marked physical, personal, or social deficits or inadequacies.

Unemployed, Looking-for-Work. It may be recalled that the employment status of respondents could be categorized employed (15%), unemployed looking-for-work (25%), and not employed not looking-for-work (60%). A similar percentage (25%) of individuals unemployed looking-for-work has been found in other studies (U. S. Department of Labor 1969a, 1969b). Because of the tragic implications in our society of no jobs available for those who claim to be looking for work, it behooves us to see how this group differed from the other two. Investigation revealed significant differences which included the finding that this group had higher proportions of men who were black.

This group, as might be expected, had significantly less income than those who were employed. However, it should be noted that their incomes were almost identical to those who were not em-

ployed and not looking-for-work (see Table 10A). In other words money was not an apparent factor in the differences in motivation among those who were not working.

TABLE 10A

Household Income According to Employment Status
(n=349)

Monthly income	Employment status		
	Unemployed, not seeking jobs	Unemployed, seeking jobs	Employed
$200 or higher	46%	42%	81%
$100-199	34%	30%	19%
$1-99	18%	24%	0
None	02%	04%	0
Total	100%	100%	100%

In contrast to the finding regarding income, this group had an educational level comparable to the employed group, both of which were significantly higher than the not employed not looking-for-work group (see Table 10B). Thus, among those who were not working, there were marked educational differences between those who were and were not motivated.

TABLE 10B

Educational Distribution According to Employment Status
(n=349)

Educational level	Employment status		
	Unemployed, not seeking jobs	Unemployed, seeking jobs	Employed
12 or higher	17%	27%	24%
9-11	25%	38%	34%
7-8	26%	19%	32%
0-6	32%	16%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Further differences were found with respect to ages. The distribution of ages of those unemployed and looking for work was similar to the age distribution of those employed. In contrast, the not employed and not looking-for-work had a marked proportion (44%) of individuals 50 years of age or older. Therefore,

those who were not looking for work not only had less education but also were older. Those who claimed to be interested in seeking employment were younger and better educated and appeared to be similar to those who were actually employed. These findings indicate that employment or rehabilitation services are feasible and needed by a significantly large number of individuals.

TABLE 10C

Age Distribution and Employment Status
(n=349)

	Employment status		
Age	Unemployed, not seeking jobs	Unemployed, seeking jobs	Employed
50 and older	44%	12%	19%
40-49	11%	18%	16%
30-39	24%	42%	36%
Less than 30	21%	28%	29%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Attitudinal differences among these three subgroups were also found and centered around the need for jobs. The answers given by all groups would be comparable to those expected from middle-class Americans whereby motivation was seen as the primary solution for people-in-general. However, the unemployed looking-for-work group differed significantly from the other groups when talking about solutions for either themselves or peers. Here schooling and motivation were seen as the *least* important. Furthermore, a sense of alienation could be inferred from their responses, since they saw agencies such as OEO and private agencies as being of more help to them with their employment than established governmental agencies.

The distribution of location of interviewees by survey site and employment status is provided in Table 10D. It can be seen from this table that the household group had the largest proportions of individuals who were either employed or who were not employed and not looking-for-work. The street sample had the highest proportion of individuals unemployed, seeking jobs. This information has obvious relevance to the need for specialized techniques in reaching this group of individuals.

TABLE 10D

Distribution of Interview Location and Employment Status (n=349)

Interview location	Employment status		
	Unemployed, not seeking jobs	Unemployed, seeking jobs	Employed
Household	84%	54%	92%
Street corner	16%	46%	08%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Income. Family income supplements are currently being seriously considered as a major strategy for alleviating and altering conditions of poverty. The importance attributed to money as an important solution by inner-city residents for themselves was certainly found in this sample. Our findings also indicate that those having more income do have some attitudes significantly different from those having less income.

Among those respondents with higher income levels, more middle-class values were noted. For example, self-motivation was seen significantly more often as a major solution. Such individuals also had more plans for the future, were more likely to have savings, and were more likely to have extra cash sometime during the year which they used in a constructive fashion rather than in an opportunistic way. Furthermore, such individuals were more likely to have a "stable" marital adjustment, reflected in the greater proportion of individuals currently married. Whether these findings are a result of individual personal "strengths," or a result of more income *per se* is not known.

Conclusions. The findings presented in this chapter reinforce the thesis of the entire report that one cannot easily refer to an "average" ghetto resident. This group is composed of many different subgroups who have different attributes and characteristics as well as differing motivations. Governmental and private programs need to take cognizance of such differences in order to provide a meaningful range of services.

CHAPTER 11

Implications for Rehabilitation and Other Programs

Throughout the preceding chapters conclusions have been drawn and, at times, implications of the findings discussed. These inferences and the data provide a basis for further generalizations and recommendations that may be of value to programs providing services to the disadvantaged. The following comments should not be construed as a blueprint. They are intended only to stimulate the reader and to provide ideas that may be modified for use in a particular situation.

Delivery of Services. Private, public, and other traditional agencies or organizations are not reaching the bulk of the inner-city poor. In fact, if they were to reach them their financial and staffing resources would be woefully inadequate. Agencies of a more experimental and aggressive nature, such as those sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, have reached different subpopulations of the poor and have received a favorable response. Some of the techniques that they have used could be successfully incorporated into established programs. Of particular relevance to this was the whole-hearted support of the population (90%) of the proposition that the government should be more active in reaching out to assist individuals in finding employment.

Sample Representativeness. The survey favored inclusion of individuals who were not working. That is, interviews held during the daytime on street corners and in households were not likely to reach employed individuals. However, a sufficient number of employed individuals were contacted so that this group could be studied. Thus, the major limitation is that the actual proportion of individuals employed may not be representative of this ghetto area. On the other hand, a possible strength of this survey taken

in this way is that it reached individuals who are likely to have the most need for governmental and private resources and services.

Unemployment Rates. The survey did not reach those working during the day. However, two findings, 1) that about half of those not working were looking for employment and 2) that only one out of each two households represented in the survey had a member reported as employed, are indicative of the high level of unemployment. The contrast between these employment data and those that one might expect from suburbia should be "uncomfortably" apparent to the reader.

Income Supplements or Maintenance Programs. Current financial support for inner-city residents attributed to welfare is meager on an average per capita basis. If the households represented by these inner-city respondents were to be given supplemental funding so that incomes were to reach a certain defined minimum level, it could be anticipated that the total amount of money would easily be from five to ten times greater than the amount currently allotted to welfare.

More important than the cost of income maintenance programs is the real possibility of an inflationary spiral that might be set off if the total group of the inner-city poor were to be reached. Within the foreseeable future following implementation of a wide-scale maintenance program, the increased household income received by a given household might not have any greater purchasing power than current levels of household income have.

Census Reliability. A lot of precautions are being considered to insure that census taking will reach a larger proportion of younger male, disadvantaged individuals. The findings of this survey support the fact that this is a difficult problem. Of all the males in this sample, 37% were 50 and older, 34% between the ages of 35 and 50, and only 29% less than age 35. In contrast, for women the percentages were 30%, 19%, and over half, 51%, under 35 years of age.

The Public Media. The public media in reporting on ghetto areas has focused on riots, discrimination, and police brutality.

Although one cannot ignore the critical implication of such realities, the findings of this study indicated that among the majority of the hard-core poor these problems are neither openly discussed nor probably seriously considered. Hostilities are present but are vaguely scattered over diverse aspects of the "establishment" such as landlords, trash collection, and so on. Specific things such as discrimination and police brutality are rarely singled out as important problems. In other words, the conditions for riots may exist; and the need for increasing opportunities is obvious and is reflected in the attitudes and concerns of the poor. Yet, the majority of them are too concerned with survival to be consciously concerned about remaking society.

Inner-city Strife. The findings regarding education, income, and race indicate that the blacks are relatively more trapped within the inner-city area than low-income whites. Furthermore, as educational levels and income increase, the frustrations of being trapped may move from an unconscious to a more conscious concern. With such increases it could be expected that open strife may occur unless there are parallel increases in economic and social opportunities.

Relocation and Transportation. Relocating ghetto residents to areas where employment opportunities are greater is sometimes seen as a major solution to problems of unemployment. Such efforts have proven to be feasible for only a limited number of individuals. In addition, experimental ventures to develop public transportation from ghettos to out-lying industrial areas have had limited success. (One "complaint" here is that after a period of employment success, the riders will purchase their own cars in preference to riding public conveyances.) These experiences plus the finding that relocation and transportation were seldom perceived either as major problems or solutions among the inner-city respondents suggest that such programs will have value for only a small proportion of inner-city poor. However, improved communication and counseling may enhance the uses of such programs by appropriate individuals.

Communication. Mass media through television, newspapers, and radio can and do reach the poor. Yet, many governmental programs do not fully exploit such resources. Failure to utilize

food stamp programs is a specific example of such a situation. Some, but not all, of the city ghetto residents may respond better to personal approaches, an avenue of communication not well utilized. The need for more creative ways of reaching the inner-city poor with respect to general opportunities and special poverty programs is needed. Caution needs to be exercised, however, in not over-selling programs such as job programs that cannot fulfill promises when large numbers of people apply.

Counseling. Traditional approaches through counseling apparently have made little impact on this sample of inner-city poor. Few individuals mentioned counseling as an important strategy in meeting the needs and problems that they face. Such a finding does not preclude the potential value of counseling services. Those who have counseled disadvantaged clients, for example, have noted that they are not perceptive of many obvious problems or possibilities. For example, the problems of transportation and child care are often neglected among inner-city poor when they apply for a job. The counselor attuned to such problems may forestall premature failure on a job.

Knowledge of the counselor about conditions of the ghetto and attitudes of the poor and the willingness of the counselor to provide tangible assistance appear to be essential. Individualized services with special attention to differences of certain subgroups need to be provided. For example, the vocational differences and expectancies between disadvantaged men and women must be met. A willingness of a counselor to work within the client's frame of reference and with his immediate concerns can provide the necessary stepping-stone toward client acceptance of desirable future plans.

Vocational Rehabilitation. The high incidence of medical problems and personal problems given by the poor as reasons for their unemployment emphasizes the need for expanded vocational rehabilitation services for these inner-city poor. The special need for individualized approaches to jobs and training should be recognized. The inclusion of a wider range of clients with a substantial handicap to employment does not mean, however, that vocational rehabilitation needs to alter its ultimate goal of enhancing employability of the handicapped.

Other Programs. No single approach can solve the complex problems of the inner-city poor. The finding that personal characteristics (e.g., age, sex, marital status, education) affect the nature of the solutions seen as important by the inner-city poor calls for multifaceted, cooperative strategies. Current programs may be unwittingly perpetuating problems if they do not meet diverse needs of various subgroups. For example, the high proportion of females in many programs reflects such a bias in many current training programs. Considerable ingenuity will be needed to develop programs that can better meet and accommodate other subgroups of inner-city poor.

Conclusion. It has been said that it is hard for middle-class individuals who themselves have seldom been poor to adequately understand and meet the needs of the poor. This study has sought to increase the understanding of counselors, social workers, and other professionals of the complex problems of poverty. In contradistinction to Lewis' (1959, 1961) hypothesis regarding a "culture of poverty," we must conclude that the badge of poverty has a unique meaning for each poor person and does not signify social dependency. The findings, interpretations, conclusions, and implications that are offered here are, of course, limited because of the nature of the survey itself. Hopefully, the findings will both challenge and substantiate a given person's concepts about the disadvantaged poor and help him to formulate improved strategies for working with them.

References

Ashenfelter, O. *Minority employment patterns, 1966.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University, 1968.

Baratz, M. S., & Grigsby, W. G. *The meaning and measurement of poverty.* Philadelphia: Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1968.

Bogart, L. Black is often white. *Media/Scope,* 1968, *12*(11), 53-60, 78.

Campbell, R. R., Kaplan, B., & Mahoney, R. J. The poor: Social and personal characteristics. In J. T. Kunce & C. S. Cope (Eds.), *Rehabilitation and the culturally disadvantaged.* Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1969. Pp. 5-24.

Campbell, A., & Schuman, H. *Racial attitudes in fifteen American cities.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968.

Caplovitz, D. The other side of the poverty problem. *Challenge,* 1965, *14,* 12-15.

Caplovitz, D. *The poor pay more.* New York: Free Press, 1967.

Davies, G. K. Need: A national job-matching network. *Harvard Business Review,* 1969, *47*(5), 63-72.

Donohew, L., & Singh, B. Communication and life styles in Appalachia. *Journal of Communication,* 1969, *19,* 200-216.

Dunmore, C. J. Social-psychological factors affecting the use of an educational opportunity program by families living in a poverty area. *Dissertation Abstracts,* 1968, 29, A, 342.

Flaim, P. O. Persons not in the labor force: Who they are and why they don't work. *Monthly Labor Review,* 1969, *92,* 3-19.

Irelan, L. M. (Ed.) *Low income life styles.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968.

Johnson, J., & Gutsch, K. V. The unskilled worker: Toward an understanding of poverty. *Journal of Employment Counseling,* 1968, *5,* 36-41.

Lewis, O. *The children of Sanchez.* New York: Random House, 1961.

Lewis, O. *Five families.* New York: Basic Books, 1959.

Liebow, E. L. Behavior and values of streetcorner Negro men. *Dissertation Abstracts,* 1967, *28,* B, 775.

Livingston, R. S. *Consumer income: Charactertistics of families and persons in metropolitan poverty areas–1967.* U. S. Department of Commerce, Series P-60, No. 61, June, 1969.

Low income consumers pay more because of ignorance, not chicanery, Peterson says. *Advertising Age,* 1965, *36*(22), 8.

Martineau, P. D. Social classes and spending behavior. *Journal of Marketing,* 1958, *23,* 121-130.

McMillan, S. R. Aspirations of low income mothers. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 1967, *29,* 282-287.

Moynihan, D. P. Poverty in cities. In J. I. Wilson (Ed.), *The metropolitan enigma: Inquiries into the nature and dimensions of America's "Urban Crisis".* Cambridge: Harvard University, 1968. Pp. 335-349.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* New York: New York Times, 1968.

Newman, D. K. Dimensions in the urban crisis. Paper presented at the North American Conference on Labor Statistics, Kiamesha Lake, New York, June, 1969.

Pearl, A. Rehabilitation in a changing society. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin,* 1968, *11,* 1-8.

Shostak, A. B. Empirical correlates of poverty: Material goods possession of low-income families. In M. S. Baratz & W. G. Grigsby (Eds.), *The meaning and measurement of poverty.* Philadelphia Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1968, Appendix E, 6-7.

Stein, H. D. *The crisis in welfare in Cleveland: Report of the Mayor's Commission.* Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1969.

Strasel, H. C., & Larkin, P. G. *Rioters in Washington: A study of people and employment.* Falls Church, Va.: Software Systems, Inc., 1968.

U. S. Department of Agriculture. Agricultural Research Service. *Dietary levels of households in the United States, Spring, 1965.* Household Food Consumption Survey, 1965-66, Report No. 6, July, 1969.

U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Household income in 1968 and selected social and economic characteristics of households.* Series P-60, No. 65, October, 1969a.

U. S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Poverty in the United States, 1959-1968. *Current population reports: Consumer income.* Series P-60, No. 68, December, 1969b.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Employment situation surveyed in slum areas of six large cities.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Labor, February, 1969.

U. S. Department of Labor. Wage and Labor Standards Administration, Women's Bureau. *Fact sheet on the American family in poverty.* WB68-156, April, 1968.

U. S. Department of Labor, & U. S. Department of Commerce. *Recent trends in social and economic conditions of Negroes in the United States.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, Current population reports, Series P-23, 26, BLS Report No. 347, 1968.

University of Missouri. *Missouri poll examines Negro-white attitudes on social programs.* Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, News Release, March, 1969a.

University of Missouri. *Missouri poll finds lower income, lower status jobs for Negroes.* Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, News Release, January, 1969b.

Available monographs from the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA
Regional Rehabilitation
Research Institute
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Series No.	Title	Single copy	50 or more
1	*Rehabilitation and the Culturally Disadvantaged,* J. T. Kunce & C. S. Cope (Eds.), September, 1969. 208 pp.	2.50	2.00
2	*Rehabilitation and the Culturally Disadvantaged: A Digest,* R. J. Mahoney, C. S. Cope, & R. R. Campbell (Eds.), 1969. 46 pp.	.75	.50
3	*Rehabilitation in the Concrete Jungle,* J. T. Kunce, R. J. Mahoney, R. R. Campbell, & J. Finley, September, 1969. 43 pp.	.75	.50
4	*The Badge of Poverty* (The St. Louis Report), C. E. Block, C. S. Cope, J. T. Kunce, & D. Hartson, March, 1970. 96 pp.	1.50	1.00

Please make all checks payable to the University of Missouri and send to the above address. Allow several weeks for shipment and possible reprinting. Prices may be subject to change.